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Yours very sincerely
Jas Robertson

Glasgow University Oriental Society

Studia Semitica et Orientalia

By

Seven Members of Glasgow University
Oriental Society



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Dear Dr Robertson,

Seven members of Glasgow University Oriental Society desire to celebrate your eightieth birthday by presenting this volume to you. Circumstances have reduced their number, but the happy prominence so given to the mystic seven is a compensation you are sure to value. Besides, we hope that our volume will be the first of a series which will afterwards more fully justify its title.

We welcome the occasion because it allows us to express again the affection always felt for you by old pupils and fellow-labourers, and because we can assure you that your years of patient planting and watering still bear fruit. We treasure the record of these things in the " Flying Roll " and in our Transactions, and we wish now to associate your name with this earnest of our further studies.

It will add to your pleasure to know that the publication is made possible by the generous help of the University Court, and that other friends have also smoothed its progress.

We all join in acknowledging our debt of friendship and of gratitude, and we wish you many bright and peaceful days yet to come.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

WM. B. STEVENSON.

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A STUDY IN HEBREW SYNONYMS.

Verbs signifying 'shut,' 'close,' 'stop up.'

A. סָגַר, סְגַר, נָעַל.

(1) סָגַר (**סָגַר**) is the verb commonly used to express the shutting of a door (**דַּלְתָּה**) or a gate (**שַׁעַר**). It does not imply barring or bolting, though that may be tacitly understood. The door is shut to avoid danger, to ensure safety or for the sake of privacy. The verb is commonly construed with **דַּלְתָּה** or with **שַׁעַר** as direct object, *e.g.* in Gen. xix. 10 ('the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into the house to them, and shut to the door') and in 2 Kings vi. 32 ('Look, when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and press him back with the door'). According to the narrative in 2 Kings the shutting would appear to be secured, in that case, by the pressure of those within. Naturally the door would afterwards be barred in some way, but this is not expressed. The shutting of the doors of the temple (Mal. i. 10, Neh. vi. 10, 2 Chron. xxviii. 24) and the shutting of a city gate (Josh. ii. 5, 7) are both expressed by means of this verb.

In Isaiah xxii. 22 no object is expressed : 'and the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, and he shall open, and none shall shut (**אֵין סָגַר**); and he shall shut, and none shall open.' In Job iii. 10 it is used in a figurative expression. Job curses the day of his birth, 'because it shut not up the doors of my (mother's) womb.' Similarly in 1 Sam. i. 5 ('the Lord had shut up her womb') and Psalm xvii. 10 ('they have shut up their hearts').

Once the closing of a breach in a city wall is described by means of the verb סָגַר (1 Kings xi. 27). 'Solomon built Millo, and closed up the breach of the city of David his father' סָגַר (**סָגַר**)

(את-פִּרְצֵן עַיר דָּוֶר אֲבִיו). But other verbs are generally used in this connection (see below under סְתִּים and חִזְקָה).

The passive participle Qal occurs in the phrase זָהָב סָגֵור (1 Kings vi. 20, 21, vii. 49, 50, x. 21, 2 Chron. iv. 20, 22, ix. 20), which may be translated literally 'gold shut up' and may be understood to mean pure or fine gold, such as would be shut up in a treasury for safety. Another explanation, which has some probability, identifies the expression with the Assyrian *khurāṣu sakru* 'massive or solid gold,' and so of the purest kind.

To express the shutting of a door or gate *upon* a person, when the person in question is left *inside* the door or gate, the preposition בְּعֵד is used. *E.g.* in 2 Kings iv. 4 Elisha says, 'Go in, and shut the door upon thee and thy sons' וְסָגֵר תְּהִלָּת (בְּעֵד וְבְעֵד בְּנֵיךְ). The same construction is used in Judges iii. 23, 2 Kings iv. 5, 33, and Isaiah xxvi. 20. Without a direct object, means 'to shut in' (a person). So in Genesis vii. 16, 'The Lord shut him in' (וַיִּסְגֹּר יְהוָה בְּעֵדוֹ), Judges ix. 51, 'They . . . shut themselves in' (וַיִּסְגֹּרוּ בְּעֵדָם), and 2 Kings iv. 21, 'וַיִּסְגֹּר בְּעֵדוֹ' (The Shunammite . . . shut the door upon him').

The object of the preposition is not always a person, *e.g.* in סָגֵר יְהוָה we read 'the Lord had shut up her womb' (בְּעֵד רָחֲמָה—cf. 1 Sam. i. 5 above—and in Judg. iii. 22 'the haft also went in after the blade, and the fat closed upon the blade' (וַיִּסְגֹּר הַחֶלֶב בְּעֵד הַלְּבָב)). In the second example is regarded by some as intransitive (see below).

To express the *shutting out* of a person, outside a closed door or gate, the preposition אַחֲרֵי is used with סָגֵר. In Gen. xix. 6 we find that when the people of Sodom stood menacingly before Lot's house he 'went out unto them to the door, and shut the door after him' (וְהִדְלָת סָגֵר אַחֲרֵיו). The same preposition is similarly used after נָעַל (see below).

Two other prepositions תְּחִתָּה and עַל are used in combination with the verb סָגֵר occurs in Gen. ii. 21: 'He took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof' (וַיִּסְגֹּר בָּשָׂר); תְּחִתָּה עַל in Exod. xiv. 3: 'The wilderness hath shut them in' (סָגֵר עַלָּהֶם הַמִּדְבָּר) and Job xii. 14: 'He shutteth up a man

(**סָגַר עַל־אִישׁ**) and there can be no opening.' In these three cases and in Judg. iii. 22 (see above) the verb **סָגַר** is seemingly taken as intransitive by Brown, Driver and Briggs (Hebrew Lexicon, *sub voce*). But in every case there is a possible alternative, which allows of the verb being understood in its usual transitive sense. *E.g.* in Gen. ii. 21 flesh may be the object as easily as the subject and in Job xii. 14 God is rather the agent who shuts the door than the closing door itself. If this view be correct, **סָגַר עַל** in Exod. xiv. 3 and Job xii. 14 means 'to shut (the door) upon' in the sense of to imprison.

The Hiphil form of **סָגַר** is also used, once, in Job xi. 10, in the sense of to imprison. It is there used absolutely, with God as subject ('if he . . . imprison, and call an assembly, who can hinder him ?'). But this is not the usual meaning of the Hiphil form (see below).

Niphal forms occur as the passive of the Qal in its ordinary sense of to shut (*e.g.* in Ezek. xlvi. 2, Isai. lx. 11, Neh. xiii. 19) and once the Niphal is used as the passive of **עַל** or of **הַמִּנְיָר**, to imprison. David 'is shut up' (**נִסְגֵּר**), Saul said, 'by entering into a town that hath gates and bars' (1 Sam. xxiii. 7).

The Pual occurs as a passive of the Qal in Eccles. xii. 4 (with doors as subject), Isai. xxiv. 10 (with house as subject) and in Josh. vi. 1 and Jer. xiii. 19. In the last two cases, where a city or cities is the subject, 'shut up' has, perhaps, the force of blockaded or besieged. In Isai. xxiv. 22 the Pual is joined to a personal subject, and, like the Niphal in 1 Sam. xxiii. 7, means to be imprisoned. 'They shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered into a dungeon, and shall be shut up in a prison' (**וְאִפְפֹּה . . . עַל־בּוֹר וְסָגַרְיָה עַל־מִקְנֶר**). The use of **עַל** here is not to be confused with its use after a Qal form. In both clauses it may simply mean 'into.' The captives are gathered into the dungeon, thrown down from above, and so enclosed or shut into the prison.

The Piel and Hiphil forms of **סָגַר** are generally identical in meaning and are not simply the intensives and causatives, respectively, of the Qal as ordinarily used. In other words they are not applied to express the shutting of gates or doors,

but take a special meaning, that of 'deliver up' (to). An example of the Piel in this sense is found in 1 Sam. xvii. 46, where David says to Goliath: 'This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand' (**יִסְפַּרְךָ יְהוָה בַּיָּדִי**). Other cases occur in 1 Sam. xxiv. 19 and xxvi. 8. Hiphil forms are used in exactly the same way in Josh. xx. 5, 1 Sam. xxiii. 12, 20, 1 Sam. xxx. 15 and Psalm xxxi. 9. In all these cases the verb governs an accusative of the person surrendered and the prepositional phrase **בַּיָּד** introduces a reference to the person to whom the surrender is made. Sometimes no prepositional phrase is required (*e.g.* in Deut. xxxii. 30, Amos vi. 8, Obad. ver. 14) and sometimes the prepositions **לְ** (in Amos i. 9, Psalm lxxviii. 48, 50, 62) or **אֶלְ** (in Deut. xxiii. 16, Job xvi. 11) are used instead of **בַּיָּד**. In all these examples the Hiphil form is used, and persons are surrendered except in Ps. lxxviii. 48 (cattle) and Amos vi. 8 (a city and all that is in it). In the figurative uses of the term, when God is said to hand over people or cattle to the pestilence (Ps. lxxviii. 50), or to the sword (Ps. lxxviii. 62), or to the hail (Ps. lxxviii. 48), the preposition **לְ** is always used. But the examples all occur in only one psalm.

A special application of the Hiphil form occurs in a few verses in Leviticus. They all refer to the action of the priest in certain cases of plague. He is required to 'shut up' for a period, and at the end of the period to examine, persons (Lev. xiii. 5), or garments (Lev. xiii. 54), or houses (Lev. xiv. 38), suspected of the plague of leprosy. Where the expression to 'shut up' the plague is used, it means shut up the person (Lev. xiii. 4) or garment (Lev. xiii. 50) suspected of plague. The application of the term **הַסְגִּיר** to a house, as well as to a person, in these passages, is somewhat against its being taken in the sense of detain or restrain. Besides, it does not appear that the house was locked up or shut up completely. Lev. xiv. 46-47 prescribes that 'he that goeth into the house all the while that it is shut up (**הַסְגִּיר אֲתֹךְ**) shall be unclean until the even. And he that lieth in the house shall wash his clothes; and he that eateth in the house shall wash his

clothes.' It may, therefore, be concluded that the verb in these passages has the technical meaning of isolate or quarantine. In Numbers xii. 14-15 the Niphal is used as a passive of this Hiphil. It is said of Miriam, when she was smitten by leprosy : 'Let her be isolated (**תִּפְגַּר**) without the camp seven days . . . and Miriam was isolated (**וַיִּפְגַּר**) without the camp seven days.'

(2) **סָכַר** is a rare variant of **סָגַר**, occurring twice in the Niphal and once in the Piel—three times altogether in the Old Testament. The Piel, in Isaiah xix. 4, has exactly the ordinary meaning of the Piel or Hiphil of **סָגַר**, viz. to deliver up: 'And I will give over the Egyptians into the hand of a cruel lord' (. . . **וְסִכְרָתִי אֹתֶם־מֵאֲרִים בַּיד**). The two cases in the Niphal are found in Gen. viii. 2 : 'The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped' (**וְסִכְרָוּ**), and Ps. lxiii. 12 : 'For the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped' (**וְיִסְכַּר**). In the latter case, presumably the mouth is thought of as a door that can be opened and shut. In the former, the one verb (**סָכַר**) is used to express the 'shutting' of the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven, although in Gen. vii. 11, one verb is not used for the opening of the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven ; there only the windows of heaven are said to be opened (**בָּשְׁפָתָח**), while the fountains of the deep are said to be eft or broken up (**נִבְקַע**). The idea of the windows of heaven being shut, like a door, perhaps by shutters, may thus not be exactly the idea underlying the shutting of the fountains of the deep, although the same verb is used. The Arabic equivalent (*sakar*) has the double sense of damming (a stream) and shutting (a door). It may, therefore, be that the Hebrew word has the same double sense in this passage and that the meaning is that the fountains of the deep were dammed up and the windows of heaven were shut.

(3) **גָּעַל**. The relation of this verb to **סָגַר** is made clear in Judg. iii. 23, where both verbs occur together. When Ehud had murdered Eglon, he 'went forth into the porch, and shut (**וַיִּסְגַּר**) the doors of the parlour upon him, and loeked them '

(וַיִּנְעַל)—cf. verse 24. There is first the act of shutting the door with the hand and then the locking of the door by means of some instrument. The same idea appears in the only other passage where a finite form of the verb is used, namely 2 Sam. xiii. 17, 18: when Amnon had violated Tamar, he ‘called his servant, that ministered unto him, and said, put this woman out from me, and bolt the door after her . . . (וַיִּנְעַל הַדָּרֶת אֲחֶרְהָה . . .). Then his servant brought her out, and bolted the door after her’ (וַיִּנְעַל הַדָּרֶת אֲחֶרְהָה'). Here the preposition סֵגֶר אֲחֶרְה' is used of the person locked *out* (cf. סֵגֶר אֲחֶרְה'). It is naturally only with a door that this verb would be used. We may explain Cant. iv. 12, where the past participle (נָעַלְיָה) is used of a garden, by thinking of the door or gate as barred or locked. In the parallel phrase in the same verse, נָעַלְיָה is repeated with an unusual word for ‘spring.’ The Versions repeat the word for ‘garden’ instead of reading ‘spring.’

The locks of the ancient Hebrews were probably much like those still in common use in the East, where, the door having been shut, a bolt is shot by the hand or by means of a thong; a number of small pins drop into corresponding holes in the sliding bolt as soon as the latter is in the hole or staple of the doorpost. The key, which is only used for unlocking the door, also has small pins made to correspond with the holes, into which they are introduced to open the lock: the former pins being thus pushed up, the bolt may be drawn back. To bolt a door then is automatically to lock it (cf. Lane: *The Modern Egyptians*).

B. סְתִמָּה, סְתִמָּה.

(4) **סְתִמָּה.** The use of this verb is quite distinct from that of סֵגֶר; it is not used of doors or gates but chiefly of fountains or springs. It means to stop up, i.e. block or choke up with earth or stones. For example, in 2 Chron. xxxii. 2–4, we read: ‘When Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his

princes and his mighty men to stop (**לִסְתֹּוּם**) the waters of the fountains which were without the city . . . so they stopped (**וַיִּסְתָּמְיוּ**) all the fountains.' Similarly in 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 and 2 Kings iii. 19 and iii. 25.

The Piel form occurs twice with the same meaning, in Gen. xxvi. 15: 'Now all the wells which his father's servants had digged in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had stopped them (**סְתַתּוּם**), and filled them with earth'; and in verse 18: 'And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them (**וַיִּסְתָּמְעוּם**) after the death of Abraham.' The sense of the verb is made clear, in verse 15, by the added phrase—'they filled them with earth.' The wells were blocked up with earth, which Isaac had to dig out again.

Once the Niphal form is used, not of blocking up a fountain, but of filling up breaches in the city-wall, evidently with stones (Neh. iv. 1): 'When Sanballat and . . . heard that the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem went forward, and that the breaches began to be stopped (**לִסְתֹּתּוּם**), they were very wroth.' (Cf. note at end regarding **חוֹק**).

This verb is also used in a figurative sense with regard to prophetic words, e.g. Dan. xii. 4: 'But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words (**סְתֵם הַרְבָּרִים**), and seal the book, even to the time of the end . . .'; also verse 9: 'And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are shut up (**סְתָמִים**) and sealed till the time of the end'; similarly, regarding a vision, Dan. viii. 26 'And the vision of the evenings and mornings which hath been told is true: but shut thou up the vision (**וַיִּאֱתֹה סְתֵם הַחֹזֶן**), for it belongeth to many days to come.' The verb, ordinarily meaning 'to choke up with earth or stones,' seems here, when used figuratively of words or a vision, to take on the sense of 'hiding and keeping secret.'

In Ps. li. 8 the same stem appears in a difficult phrase. 'Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts, and in the hidden part (**בְּסָתָם**) thou shalt make me to know wisdom.' Briggs excises the word as a gloss, but if it be retained, it seems to convey the figurative sense just mentioned, viz. 'that

which is secreted, kept secret'—‘with (or by) that which is secreted, thou wilt make me to know wisdom.’¹

(5) **שְׁתִים**. This form, which is a variant for **סְתִים**, occurs only once, viz. in Lam. iii. 8 : ‘Yea, when I cry and call for help, he shutteth out my prayer’ (**שְׁתִם תִּפְלַתִּי**). Following the ordinary usage of the usual form this should mean ‘he chokes up my prayer.’ The suggested correction **מִתְפָּלֵתִי** allows of the translation ‘he makes a barrier against my prayer’ (Budde).

C. חֲסִם, אַטֶּם, קְפִין, קְרִין, עַצָּה, עַצָּם, אַטָּם.

This group of words consists of such as specially denote the shutting or closing of the lips, ears, eyes, hand or mouth.

(6) **אַטָּם** is used actively to express the ‘shutting’ of lips or ears, and passively, in the passive participle, of ‘shut’ windows. It occurs only eight times in the Old Testament. To take the cases with a passive sense first. They are four in number, as follows: Ez. xl. 16 : ‘And there were closed windows (**וְחַלּוּנֹת אַטָּמוֹת**) to the lodges’ ; Ez. xli. 16 : ‘(He measured) the closed windows’ (**וְחַלּוּנִים רְאַטָּמוֹת**) ; Ez. xli. 26 : ‘And there were closed windows’ (**וְחַלּוּנִים אַטָּמוֹת**) ; and 1 Kings vi. 4 ; ‘He made windows of closed lattice-work’ (**חַלּוּנִי שְׁקָפָם אַטָּמִים**). What do ‘closed windows’ mean? They are usually explained as ‘windows with narrowing frames,’ the word for ‘frames’ only occurring, however, in 1 Kings vi. 4. Such windows would be wide on the inner side of the thick wall, and would gradually converge so as to form a mere slit on the outer side, like the windows of ancient western fortresses. Another rendering is ‘windows with frames closed in,’ i.e. by means of lattice-work or grating, so that the view is obstructed (cf. Burney’s *Notes on Book of Kings—in loco*). May the original idea not be that the windows were barricaded in some way, giving protection to those within and obstructing the view of

¹ In Ezekiel xxviii. 3 **כְּתִים** is probably a corruption of some other word.

those without (cf. **םִתְנַ** in Neo-Hebrew = to obstruct, fill up; pass. partic. filled up, solid)?

Assuming this to be the literal use of the word, it is applied figuratively to the lips and ears in Prov. xvii. 28: 'Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise; when he shutteth (**םִתְנַ**) his lips, he is esteemed as prudent'; Prov. xxi. 13: 'Whoso stoppeth (**םִתְנַ**) his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry, but shall not be heard'; Is. xxxiii. 15: 'He that stoppeth (**םִתְנַ**) his ear from hearing of blood'; and Ps. lviii. 5 (Hiphil): 'They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth (**םִתְנַ**) her ear.' The lips and ears are barricaded, so that no word is uttered, and no sound heard.

(7) **םָעֵץ**. This special verb for shutting the eyes occurs twice in the Old Testament. The Qal participle is found in Is. xxxiii. 15 (along with **םִתְנַ** and parallel to it): 'He that shutteth his eyes from looking upon evil' (... **עֲזַם עַיִן**); and the Piel imperfect in Is. xxix. 10: 'And (the Lord) hath closed your eyes' (... **םִעְצָם**). The eyes are closed so that the person or persons cannot see. The latter example gives the sense of the eyes being well or firmly closed, as in sleep.

(8) **עַצָּה** is another word used (once) of shutting the eyes, namely, in Prov. xvi. 30: 'He that closeth his eyes (... **עַצָּה**) is devising some lie.' The closing here is for a purpose exactly opposite to that of the closing of the eyes above in Is. xxxiii. 15 (**םִצְמָה**).

It is just possible that the word is a textual error for **םִצְמָה** (cf. Kittel: *Bib. Hebr.*), but the necessity for change is not at all clear. The stem **עַצָּה** is paralleled in Arabic by **أَغْصِي**, to contract the eyelids, *i.e.* draw them close together, as **עַצְמָה** is by **أَغْمَض** to shut or close the eyes (cf. Lane's *Dict.—in loco*). Probably, therefore, **עַצָּה** means to draw the eyelids together, without closing them completely in the manner denoted by **םִצְמָה**.

(9) **קָרֵץ**. It is only alongside of **עַצָּה**, in Prov. xvi. 30, that this verb is construed with the word for lips, in the sense of tightening (the lips). It appears three times, however, with

the word for 'eye' (viz. Prov. vi. 13, x. 10, Ps. xxxv. 19) in the sense of compressing or shutting (the eyelids), as one does in winking. The original meaning of the verb seems to be not shutting simply, but biting or nipping off, which however presupposes the bringing close together of the two things that 'bite' or 'nip off.' The only other occurrence of the verb is in Job xxxiii. 6 : 'I also am formed out of the clay' (*מִחְמָר קַרְצָתִי*). This is the Pual form, and literally means 'I was nipped off from clay.'

(10) **קְפִין** is applied to the closing of the hand or mouth, i.e. to the bringing of the fingers close together in the palm, or to the drawing of the lips tightly together. For example, Deut. xv. 7 : '... thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut (קְפִין) thine hand from thy poor brother'; Is. lli. 15 : 'Kings shall shut (יְקַפְּצִוּ) their mouths at him' (i.e. at God's servant in astonishment). Twice in Job v. 16 and Ps. cvii. 42, iniquity is figuratively spoken of as stopping (קְפִצָּה) her mouth (i.e. drawing her lips together in abject silence); and once the verb is used figuratively, of God shutting up his compassion, viz. Ps. lxxvii. 10: 'Hath he in anger shut up (קְפִין) his compassion?' (i.e. Has God kept his compassion tightly held in His hand?). The Piel of the verb occurs once in Cant. ii. 8, in the sense of springing, i.e. drawing the body together in the act of springing: 'The voice of my beloved! behold, he cometh, leaping upon the mountains, springing upon the hills' (*מַקְפִין* parallel to *מַרְלָג*).

(11) **אָטֶר** only occurs once, in Ps. lix. 16, where we read: 'And let not the pit shut (וַאל-תַּאֲטֵר) her mouth upon me.' It is here used of the pit, whether this refers to the Pit of Sheol or to a dungeon; the adjective from this root, viz. **אָטֶר**, is used only of a person in the phrase, **אָשֶׁר יָד-יְמִינֹו** (Judg. iii. 15, cf. xx. 16), meaning a man whose right hand is drawn up, drawn out of shape, drawn double, so as to be useless. This seems to be the original idea of the word, from the Arabic 'atar, to bend, curve. But in Judges here it probably signifies no more than one who has not the natural use of his right hand, i.e. a left-handed man. The idea underlying the verb

would thus be to draw shut and so to enclose. The Pit, in Ps. lxix. 16, is personified as one who can draw her mouth close and so shut it upon someone—‘let not the Pit,’ says the Psalmist, (thus) ‘shut her mouth upon me.’

(12) **תְּחִסֵּם** occurs only twice in the Old Testament, in Deut. xxv. 4 and Ez. xxxix. 11. The case in Deut. xxv. 4 is: ‘Thou shalt not muzzle (**תְּחִסֵּם**) the ox when he treadeth out the corn.’ The verb is here used of ‘muzzling’ an ox, *i.e.* tying a piece of rope round the ox’s mouth (cf. Arabic *khashm* = nose). This serves to distinguish the verb clearly and the same usage is implied by the noun **מְחִסּוּם**, muzzle (Psalm. xxxix. 2).

Ezek. xxxix. 11 is translated: ‘I will give unto Gog a place for burial in Israel, the valley of them that pass through on the east of the sea; and it shall stop them that pass through’ (**וְחָסַם תִּהְיֶא אֶת-הָעָבָרִים**). Several modern editors, following the guidance of the LXX read: **וְחָסַם אֶת-הַגְּנִיא** (the Israelites will close the mouth of the valley). In so doing they have not, perhaps, sufficiently considered the meaning and appropriateness of the expression ‘they shall muzzle the valley.’ But some emendation is probably required.

Note 1:

In contrast to **סַתֵּם** and **סְנַר**, the ordinary words in use for ‘repair’ are **חָזַק** and **חֲזֹיק**. These derived forms (Piel and Hiphil) of the root **חַזֵּק** (to be strong) are frequently used in connection with Jerusalem and the Temple. The Hiphil is used throughout Neh. iii., with one exception in verse 19, where the Piel appears, for ‘repairing’ the walls of Jerusalem. For ‘repairing’ the house of the Lord the common form is the Piel, which occurs a number of times in Kings and Chronicles (*e.g.* 2 Kings xii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15; 2 Chron. xxiv. 5, 12, xxxiv. 8, 10, etc.). The idea underlying the use of (in the Piel and Hiphil forms) is evidently that of strengthening, with a view to safety, something that has been broken.

Note 2 :

סָנַר in several forms (Qal, Niphal, Pual or Qal passive, and Hiphil) is used in the sense of imprison. But more distinctive words for imprison in Hebrew are נְלָא and עַצֵּר. Examples of the former will be found in Jerem. xxxii. 2, 3 and Ps. lxxxviii. 9 (cf. בֵּית נְלָא, prison), and of the latter in 2 Kings xvii. 4 and Jerem. xxxiii. 1. Both words mean, primarily, to restrain.

Note 3 :

הַגִּיר and נָתַן, מִנְנָה are synonyms of the Piel and Hiphil of סָנַר in their usual sense of deliver up (to). Once, or twice including Is. lxiv. 6—a doubtful text—בַּיִד appears with מִנְנָה in this sense; in Gen. xiv. 20, Melchizedek blesses Abraham and God most High, ‘who hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand’ (אֲשֶׁר-מִנְנָה אֶרְיךְ בַּיִד). בַּיִד appears a number of times with בַּיִד (also without a prepositional phrase) in the same sense: e.g. in Numb. xxi. 34, God says to Moses regarding Og, King of Bashan, ‘Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand’ (בַּיִד הַגִּיר has the same meaning, but is followed by a different prepositional phrase; e.g. Jer. xviii. 21 reads: ‘Deliver them up to the sword’). Cf. Ez. xxxv. 5 and Ps. lxiii. 11—the only other cases of this verb in this sense.

J. ROBERTSON BUCHANAN.

TELL HUM THE SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

AMONG the many problems of Scripture Geography that have been discussed during the past half century, few have received more attention than that which concerns the actual site of Capernaum. Some of the earlier suggestions of this period receive no support to-day. The throwing of the whole cradle of the Gospel Story to the east side of the Lake, as suggested by Thrupp and Tregelles (*Journal of Classical and Sacred Literature*, Nos. 6 and 7), has been abandoned as inconsistent with practically all the references and the whole course of tradition. The position of Capernaum at 'Ain el-Mudawwara, as advocated by Tristram, Caspari, Ritter and others, is excluded by the requirement of the word *parathalassian* in Matthew iv. 13, the literal interpretation of that term being supported by the whole Gospel narrative, while the site in question is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the shore. Mejdel, as proposed by Egmont, has never commended itself seriously to any one, and besides it is the accepted site of Magd'lä. The statement made by Cotovicus (1598) that some considered 'Taboga' to be the 'Mariae Magdalena Castellum,' and that it had received its name from 'purpurae tinctura quondam celebre,' is based on a mistake, the name et-Täbigha being confused with the Migdöl Sabbath'ayā or Dyers' Tower (J. Taanith iv. 5; M. Shir. i. 18; and M. Echa ii. 2), a quarter of Magd'lä.

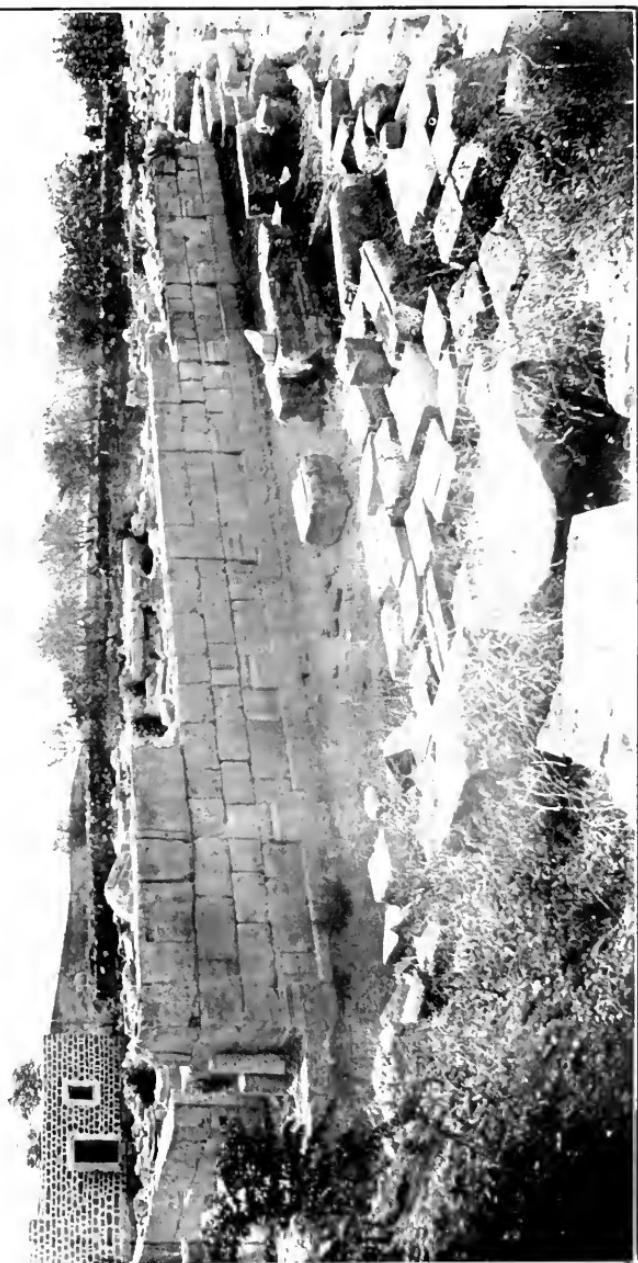
There remain but two sites that now merit serious attention, namely el-Minyë and Tell Hüm. The material available has in the past been well sifted by able scholars, chief among whom are the distinguished Principal of Aberdeen University (*Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 456-457), and the Rev. Dr. Wm. Ewing (*Temple Bible Dictionary*, p. 79), with the latter of whom the writer had frequently the privilege of discussing the question on the ground itself in former days. These scholars

have not, however, ventured on a verdict, but with modest caution have only expressed a preference. As over ten years have passed since even that was done, and as fresh light has come to hand, we consider the time has arrived for the summing up of the evidences, and if possible for the attaining of a definite result.

To appreciate the points that come under review, a clear grasp of the geography of the north end of the lake is necessary, including a knowledge of the distances and of the nature of all the traceable sites on the shore. The most easterly of these is Tell Hūm, and it is situated $2\frac{3}{8}$ miles west of the point where the Jordan flows into the lake. The ruins indicate a place of considerable extent, stretching along the shore for a distance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and having a breadth of half a mile. They consist mainly of buildings erected from the black volcanic stone of the district, but in the midst there is found the ruin of what must have been a magnificent building, which is now proved to have been a synagogue of fine white limestone. Between this synagogue and the shore the ruins of a church with beautiful tessellated pavements have also been uncovered. On the upper margin of the ruins of the town, on the rising slope, we meet with two ancient tombs of hewn stone, one of them being of considerable extent. The main street of the place ran northwards to Kerāzē, the accepted site of Chorazin, $2\frac{3}{8}$ miles distant. It used to be asserted that there was nothing on the sea-front at Tell Hūm to indicate the presence of a harbour, but to the west of the present ruins there are several small bays with traces of small piers, and besides, during the recent work of excavation, definite traces of what must have been the chief harbour of the town were discovered in the bay immediately to the west of the synagogue.

At a distance of $1\frac{5}{8}$ miles west of Tell Hūm we reach et-Tābigha. It consists of a group of springs, the number usually given being seven, and from this fact the place was named Bir-sabee (Theodosius, 530 A.D.), a name which seems to go back at least to the time of Josephus (*Vita*, 37). In Greek it was named Heptapegon (Nicephorus Callistus, 14th cent.), and this is the original of the modern name et-Tābigha. The water of these springs was raised to a high level in towers built around them, and was thence led off in aqueducts for various purposes. Apart from the piers, the built portions of these aqueducts have now disappeared,

FIG. 1. Synagogue at Tell Hamm, from the North-West.



THE WILDFLOWERS
OF THE HIMALAYAS

but to the west, around Tell 'Orēmē, the hill that lies between the Tābigha Valley and the Plain of Gennesaret, there exists an interesting cutting in the rock. This was, till the present road was made, used as a bridle path, and was sometimes taken for an ancient roadway. It shows, however, by its fall, and by the fact that it is narrower above than below, that it was originally a continuation of the waterway. Besides, there is at one part a side opening through which water was supplied to a bath at the foot of Tell 'Orēmē. This line of aqueduct may also have been used for irrigating a portion of the north end of the Plain of Gennesaret. But in addition the waters were also led in a like manner eastward. The foundation work of the piers may still be traced also in that direction, to within a very few paces of the ruins of Tell Hūm.

From et-Tābigha to Khān el-Minyē the distance in a straight line is fifteen-sixteenths of a mile, but till modern times there never seems to have been a direct road between the two, the first attempt at such a connection having been the turning of the old waterway into the bridle path we have indicated. The only possible route would then be round the north side of Tell 'Orēmē, and that would more than double the distance. At el-Minyē there is the ruin of a Khan, and between it and the shore we find traces of the ruins of small buildings and of the bath already mentioned, but the remains are not extensive. At some distance to the south of these there is a mound named Khurbet el-Minyē, and sometimes Khurbet Bēt Ṣaidā. It is said that the buildings connected with Khān el-Minyē extended over the hill, but excavations on Tell 'Orēmē have produced only weapons and pottery belonging to the pre-Israelite and early Israelite periods, and the collection is to be seen in the adjoining monastery.

From beside the ruins of the bath at the foot of Tell 'Orēmē, on the south side, there rises a spring that gives its name to this part of the site—'Ain et-Tīnē. In Rabbinical times this same name in a Hebrew form ('Ān Tēnāh) was the name of the town which stood here (see p. 27). At times when the water of the lake sinks to its lowest level, the remains of old harbour works can be seen. The spring is practically on a level with the lake, and could never have been used for irrigating the plain.

On the slope of Tell 'Orēmē, right above 'Ain et-Tinē, a Moslem tomb or wely is pointed out, bearing the name of Shaikh 'Ali es-Sayyād, while another ruin was in 1911 pointed out to Dr. Ewing, and named Kenīset el-Kufūr. In 1919, however, we searched in vain for any trace of it. It has no place on the plan of the ground belonging to the monastery of et-Tābigha, and the monks had never heard of it.

From el-Minyē to Mejdel along the shore the distance is three miles, while 'Ain el-Mudawwara lies $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles in a south-west direction across the plain.

We now turn our attention to a consideration of the various testimonies, and the first is that of the New Testament. In Matthew iv. 13 we meet with what has been considered a statement of geographical position in the quotation from Isaiah ix. 1 regarding 'the borders of Zebulon and Nephtalim.' Were this to be taken as defining the position of Capernaum, we should require to understand that it was a border town touching both of these tribes. Now we have some traditional evidence as to the tribal territories. Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 22) states that the tribe of Zebulon reached the Sea of Gennesaret, but then he was dealing with earlier times, and he may have been influenced by the mention of 'seas' in Deut. xxxiii. 19. On the contrary the Targum on Deut. xxxiii. 23 assigns the western shore to Naphtali, and gives that tribe an additional tract to the south of the lake. With this J. Baba Bathra v. 1 is in full agreement, while B. Baba Qama 81b states that 'the Sea of Tiberias was in the portion of Naphtali,' as was also the district mentioned in the Targum. Still these explanations are indefinite, and do not help us much, and it may be doubted if even a clearer knowledge of tribal limits would be of any value. The words under consideration are in a quotation given to indicate the fulfilment of a prophecy, and in such a case we do not expect to find a literal, but only an adequate fulfilment. Either of the sites in question satisfies this requirement. The reference to 'the way of the sea,' which doubtless indicates the great highway, a paved portion of which still remains, and beside which Khān el-Minyē was ultimately built, must also be understood in the same general sense.

Then Capernaum was a place of importance—a City (Matth.

ix. 1, Mark i. 38); a Military Station (Matth. viii. 5), and a Taxing Centre (Matth. xvii. 24). In these connections it has been inferred that it must have been on the Great Highway along which the traffic passed between the Eastern and Western worlds, and consequently at el-Minyē. Now, if taxation had anything to do with the goods in transit, el-Minyē would be a very unsuitable place. It is a long day's journey along the Trade Route from either boundary of Galilee. A much more suitable position for both the Military and the Tax-gatherer would be the nearest point of importance on the route that led with every facility from the Tetrarchy of Antipas into that of Philip at his southern capital of Bethsaida Julias. That point is Tell Hūm. Of course we must recognise that Matthew may have been employed collecting the tax on the fish caught in the Lake, and that such taxation would be levied at all points. Still the mention of 'many publicans' and of a military post with a centurion in command implies conditions that are better satisfied by Tell Hūm.

A very important passage presents itself in John vi. 17-24. It must be considered in connection with the parallel passage in Matth. xiv. 22-34. The essential point is that the disciples starting from the other side rowed 'about five and twenty or thirty furlongs,' the wind being contrary. Incidents are then recorded during which of course no advance was made, and during which, if the boat did drift, it would be eastwards. Then we read that 'immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.' This in John vi. 24 is stated to be 'Capernaum,' while in Matthew xiv. 34 it is said to be 'the land of Gennesaret.' Now these records are weighty, because they come from men who were familiar with distances on the water, and who knew the ground well. The disciples started from the other side, from a place where there was much grass, that is some point on the shore of el-Baṭīḥa. Now the shortest distance from the other side, at the inflow of the Jordan, to the nearest corner of the Plain of Gennesaret, at el-Minyē, is $4\frac{5}{6}$ miles or rather more than 39 furlongs (furlong = $202\frac{1}{4}$ yards). Had they come from that nearest point they must have skirted the shore all the way, and with the wind contrary, that is, blowing down the Wady Ḥamām, they would have found it difficult indeed to get into 'the

midst of the sea' at all, even if it had been necessary. But we cannot think that the feeding of the 5000 took place so near to the city of Julias, nor, on the other hand, that it was close to Gergesa (Khersa), but that it was opposite some midway point of the shore. Supposing then that they start from about the middle of el-Batīḥa beach, and row 25 to 30 furlongs, or 5000 to 6000 yards, the boat will be within immediate reach of Tell Hūm, but not of el-Minyē, which is fully 50 furlongs distant. It may be possible to make too much of a general statement of distance, but in the present case there was not much likelihood of confusing 25 to 30 with 50 furlongs.

The mention of the Land of Gennesaret may be considered a difficulty, and adduced as a proof in favour of the el-Minyē site, but it must be observed that a comparison of Matthew xiv. 34 with Mark vi. 53 and with John vi. 17, 24, 59 does not demand a site in the plain. It is the 'land' and not the 'plain' of Gennesaret that is named, and the name Kinnereth, or Gennesaret, was not confined to the plain, for we find it extended even to the south end of the Lake, in which region it embraced several towns (Ber. Rab. sect. 98 on Gen. xlix. 21). Practically synonymous are the Talmudic terms *Təhōm Təbharyā* and *Ēmeq*, both of which were applied to the whole of the low-lying land west of the lake, while the Plain of Gennesaret was designated either *Biq'ath Ginnūsar* or *Biq'ath Arbēl* (M. Shebh. ix. 2).

The statements of Josephus now demand attention. In *Vita*, sect. 72, he tells of his being injured in a skirmish among the marshlands where the Jordan enters the lake, and of his being carried thence to a village named 'Kepharnōmē' or 'Kepharnāūm' (the readings of the mss. vary; see Naber). Apart from the fact that Capernaum is meant, there is nothing of definiteness here. We cannot tell whether distance had to be considered with a view to safety, or whether the removal was directed to the nearest convenient place with a view to rest and attention. If the latter was the purpose, then the position at Tell Hūm was most suitable.

Another statement of Josephus (*Bella*, iii. 10. 8) has given rise to more discussion. He says that the country that lies over against the Lake has the name of Gennesar, that it is watered by a fertilising fountain, which the people of the country call

Capernaum, and that it contains the coracinus fish. Now the coracinus is found in all the three springs we have named. But we have seen that the level of 'Ain et-Tiné prevents its being used for irrigation, and as 'Ain el-Mudawwara is no longer advocated, there remain only the springs at et-Tâbigha, the waters from which we have seen were led both eastward and westward, manifestly for irrigation purposes. The name as recorded by Josephus was, accordingly, given to the fountain from the town adjoining, and the question to be decided is whether that town was at el-Minyé or Tell Hûm. Now el-Minyé is nearer to et-Tâbigha in a straight line, but by the road that must have been taken to reach the spring (as already indicated) the distance would be equally great with that between et-Tâbigha and Tell Hûm, and the presence of the hill, Tell 'Orémé, as a separating element, as well as the fact that there was beside el-Minyé another spring, its own, make it much more likely that the spring at et-Tâbigha received the name Capernaum from the more accessible town on the other side. In any case, 'Ain et-Tâbigha was the fountain that bore the name Capernaum, and apart from the sea it was the sole source of water supply for Tell Hûm. It may be something more than mere conjecture when Burchard (1280) explains the name Josephus gives to the spring from the fact that the whole of the land between the spring and the Jordan, a distance of two leagues, is called Capernaum.¹

The next item of evidence is the testimony of ecclesiastics living in Palestine, and of pilgrims to the Holy Land. This is of considerable importance, as it comes from authentic documents dating from the fourth century onwards.

Eusebius of Caesarea (*ob. 340*) is the first witness. He manifests a deep interest in Biblical sites, and wrote his *Onomasticon* about them. Unfortunately his testimony is somewhat defective just on the point at issue. He states that Chorazin is a small town in Galilee, twelve miles from Capernaum. Now, in the whole territory in question there is no stretch of twelve miles, and as we cannot ascribe ignorance to our author, we must seek some other explanation. Fortunately it is at hand. Jerome (*ob. 420*) translated the *Onomasticon*, and he is quite definite as to the position of Chorazin, stating 'est autem nunc desertum in

¹ *Palest. Pilgr. Text*, xii. 28; Laurent, *Peregrinatores* (1864), p. 35.

secundo lapide a Capharnaum.' It seems clear then that Eusebius made the distance between Chorazin and Capernaum two miles, and that twelve is an error of transmission in the Greek text.

Jerome was born in the year of the death of Eusebius. These two witnesses are further linked together by Epiphanius, who was the contemporary of both. He was born in Palestine early in the fourth century, was of Jewish extraction and of the Jewish faith during his early years, and he spent a great part of his life within the borders of the Holy Land. He was keenly interested in all that pertained to church history, and accordingly his testimony is of peculiar value. In his book, *Adv. Haer.* i. 30. 11, he tells us that the Greeks, Samaritans and Christians had hitherto been excluded from Tiberias, Sepporis, Nazareth and Capernaum, and that it was only by royal warrant that Joseph of Tiberias was enabled to erect churches in these places.¹ His words are, 'Josephus autem nihil petiit, praeterquam ut maximum hoc beneficium a rege consequeretur, ut permitteretur ipsi per mandatum regium, quo Christo ecclesias aedificaret in civitatibus ac vicis Judaeorum, ubi nunquam quisquam potuit ecclesias extruere, propterea quod neque Graecus neque Samarita neque Christianus inter ipsos esset; et hoc maxime in Tiberiade et in Diocaesarea, quae et Sepphirin appellatur, et in Nazareth et in Capernaum.' The permission desired was secured from Constantine, and is to be dated about 330 A.D. We shall see the full bearing of this later on.

In the year 385 Capernaum was visited by Sylvia of Aquitania, and in her record, as copied by Petrus Diaconus (12th century),² we read, 'In Capharnaum autem ex domo apostolorum principis ecclesia facta est; qui parietes usque hodie ita stant, sicut fuerunt. Ibi paraliticum Dominus curavit: illuc est et synagoga, in qua Dominus daemonicum curavit, ad quam per gradus multos ascenditur; quae sinagoga ex lapidibus quadratis est facta. Non longe autem inde cernuntur gradus lapidei, super quos Dominus stetit.' There can be little doubt that though transmitted from a later date this information goes back in all essentials to the pilgrim herself. By the time of Petrus Diaconus all possibility

¹ Basel edition (1578), p. 44; in Dindorf's Greek text (1860), vol. ii. p. 103.

² *De locis sanctis* (edit. Gamurrini, Rome, 1887), p. 131 (where the passage is assigned to Sylvia). Cf. Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 173, p. 1128.

of giving the detail recorded had passed away, and it has been left to modern excavators to prove the accuracy of the statements (see p. 30 f.).

Theodosius (530) speaks very clearly as to the succession of sites around the shore of the Sea of Galilee.¹ His words are : ' De Tiberiada usque Magdalum unde Maria Magdalena, millia duo. A Magdalo usque ad Birsabee, quod interpretatur Septem Fontes . . . millia quinque, ubi Dominus Christus baptizavit apostolos, ubi et saturavit populum quinque millium de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus. A Septem Fontibus usque in Capharnaum millia duo. . . . De Capharnaum usque in Bethsaida, que est probatica piscina, millia sex.' Though the first-named distances are inaccurate, those between Birsabee and Capernaum and between Capernaum and Bethsaida (Julias), at et-Tell, leave it unquestionable that Theodosius understood Capernaum to have been on the present side of Tell Hūm. We have here, also, mention of the tradition (mistaken, of course) that the feeding place of the 5000 was at the Septem Fontes (et-Tābigha), on the rock traditionally called Mensa Christi, where, beside the mill, five heart-shaped stones, representing the five loaves, formed part of the foundation of a church, and are all still to be found there on the shore of the lake.

Antoninus Martyr (570) is too indefinite to be used as a witness, but as mistakes have been made concerning the fountains he names, we give his own words.² Starting from Tiberias, he says, ' Deinde venimus in civitatem Capharnaum, in domum beati Petri, que est modo basilica. Inde transeuntes per castra vel vicos aut civitates, venimus ad duos fontes, hoc est Ior et Dan.' It will be observed that these are the springs which combine to form the Jordan, and that they have nothing to do with the Septem Fontes or et-Tābigha. The basilica to which he refers was doubtless the church built by Joseph of Tiberias, as recorded by Epiphanius, but it was not of necessity at el-Minyē.

The next pilgrim is Arculfus (670), and his testimony has been transmitted to us by our own countryman, Adamnan (*ob.* 704).

¹ *De situ terrae sanctae* (edit. Tobler and Molinier, in *Itinera Hierosol.* 1879, p. 72). In some editions (e.g. Gildemeister, Bonn, 1882, p. 16) the distance between Magdala and Birsabee is less correctly given as two miles.

² *De locis sanctis*, ch. 7 (in *Itin. Hieros.* p. 94).

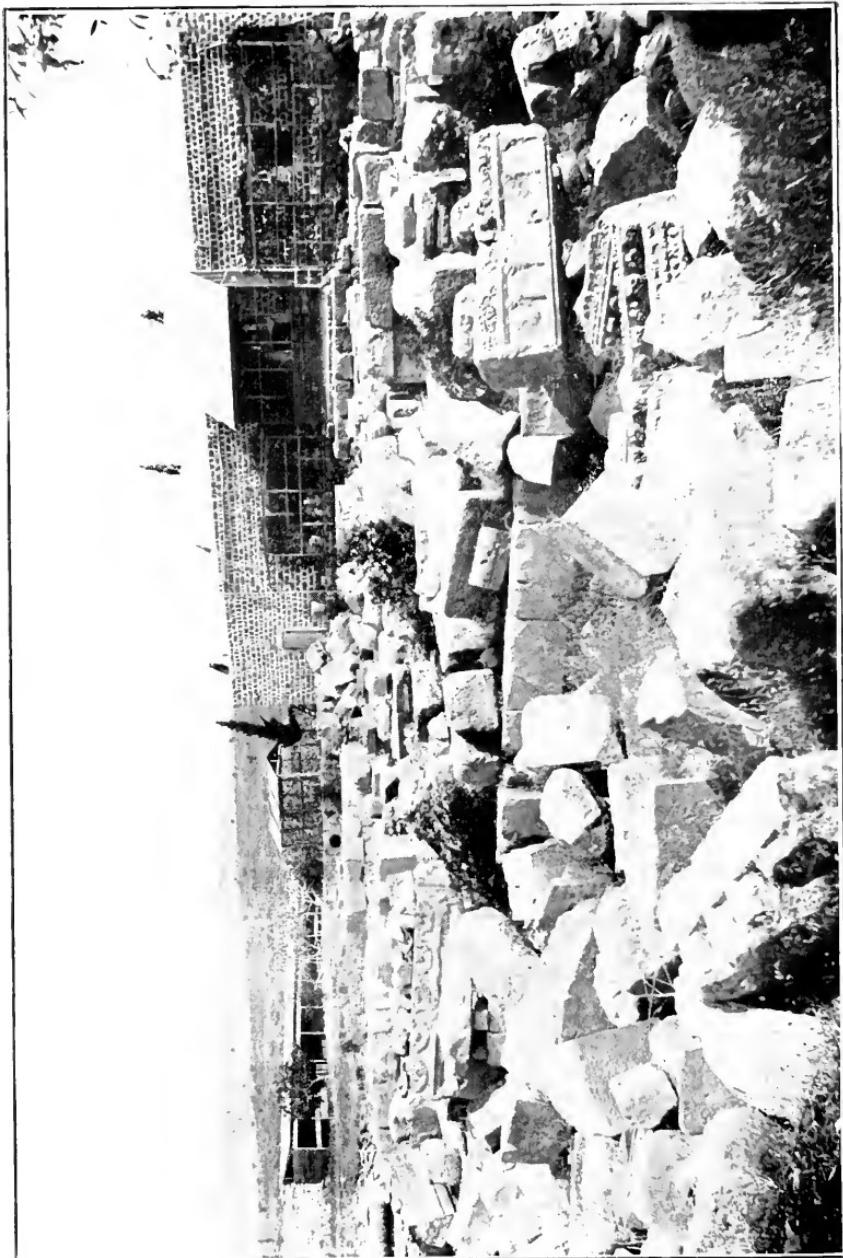
Arculfus visited the traditional place where the 5000 had been fed, and from that point he saw Capernaum near at hand. Considerable detail is given. 'Que (Capernaum), ut Arculfus refert, qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum coarctata spatio, per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plaga, lacum vero ab australi habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur' (*De locis sanctis*).¹ This is one of the accounts that has sometimes been supposed to favour the site at el-Minyë; but it must be observed that the narrator had already passed that place and visited Mensa Christi. The hill from which he looked towards Capernaum was that to the north of et-Tābigha, and although Tell Hūm is not, in fact, on a narrow space between the mountain and the sea, that is the appearance it has when viewed from that position. A more accurate description he could not have given without having actually reached the site itself. Besides his statement requires a position where the lake lies to the south. That we have at Tell Hūm, but not at el-Minyë, where the lake is to the east.

Willibald (723-726), the next visitor, is not so clear.² Starting from Magd'lä he describes the journey: 'Inde per oppositam in altero littore Capharnaum, ubi Dominus filiam principis suscitavit et ubi Zebedeus, pater Iacobi et Iohannis, requiescit, et per Bethsaida, ubi nunc ecclesia domum Petri et Andree demonstrat, tetigerunt Corozaim, ubi Dominus expulsis demonibus gregem porcorum concessit.' The places named along the coast in succession are Capernaum, Bethsaida and Chorazin. In connection with the last-named the incident of the Gergesene swine is mentioned. That cannot be referred to the modern traditional site of the drowning of the swine at Rās el-Khanazīr, a spur of Tell 'Orēmë, but must be understood of the true site of that incident at Khersa, and in that case Bethsaida might very well be at et-Tell, to the east of the Jordan, in the plain of el-Batīha, where Theodosius also places it, and then Capernaum would agree with Tell Hūm. The words 'per oppositam in altero littore' support this idea, as Tell Hūm seen from Magd'lä has the appearance of being on an opposite shore, while el-Minyë has not.

¹ In *Itin. Hieros.* p. 183.

² *Itinerarium* (in *Itin. Hieros.* p. 289).

FIG. 2.—Synagogue at Tell Hūm, from the South-East.



THE MELL
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The next three witnesses are Fetellus (1130), John of Wuertzburg (1160-1170), and the Anonymous Pilgrim VI. of the 12th century (for whom see *Palest. Pilgr. Text*, v. 28, v. 68, and vi. 54). The difference in language between these three is so slight, and their method of statement so peculiar, that it is clear we have in them not three independent testimonies, but one statement repeated. It is to the effect that Capernaum was two miles from the foot of the mountain on which Christ preached, and that from that mountain "locus tabulae" or Mensa Christi was one mile distant. This statement of distance excludes Khan Minyé and places Capernaum at Tell Hūm.

Burchard (1280), in addition to the information already given, states that Capernaum was one league east of Mensa Christi (Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 36) and that 'telonium' (the place of toll) was on the 'strata regia' (Laurent, p. 38).

Ricoldo (1294) gives the position of Capernaum as two miles from 'locus tabulae' (Laurent, p. 106).

Marino Sanuto (1321) supplies the first map of the district, and on it he places Bethsaida at el-Minyé and Capernaum at Tell Hūm (*P.P.T.* vol. xii.).

Nicephorus Callistus (fourteenth century) in *Commemoratorium*, viii. 30, says of Capernaum, 'sistitur etiam in loco qui dicitur Heptapegon, hoc est ad Septem Fontes.'

John Poloner (1421), in his *Description of the Holy Land*, seems to indicate Tell Hūm as the site of Capernaum, but the indefiniteness of his language leaves the matter in doubt (*P.P.T.* vi. 36).

Fuerer von Haimendorf (1565) names Mini, but he does not in any way associate it with Capernaum. His words are, 'in pago quodam ad ripam maris Galilaeae, Mini nomine, quod portum denotat, divertimus' (edition of 1621, p. 97).

Cotovicus (1598) states: 'E regione Bethsaidae. Orientem versus secundo vix milliario, viculus cernitur in littore, Taboga nomine. . . . Haud procul inde, juxta ipsum littus, supra ripam occidentalem Jordanis, Capharnaum spectatur' (*Itin. Hier. et. Syr.*, edition of 1619, p. 359).

Quaresmius (1616) is the first to suggest (*Elucidatio*, Book vii. cap. viii.)¹ that el-Minyé represents Capernaum. In his great

¹ Antwerp edition, 1639, vol. ii. p. 868.

work he quotes a number of earlier authorities, not, however, as evidences for the site, but as proofs that Matthew xi. 23 and Luke x. 15 have been literally fulfilled, and in this connection he uses the words, 'nunc vix cognitus locus ejus.' In connection with identification his one important reference is to Bonifacius, *De perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae*, lib. ii. (1552): 'Et quia hanc civitatem difficile invenire poteris, quia sabulo ruinae ejus co-operatae sunt, duas arbores palmarum, quae in medio civitatis desolatae sunt, tibi pro signo trado. Haec civitas Capharnaum ab occidenti respicit Sepheth, a meridie civitatem Tiberiadis, a septemtrione viculum Bethsaidae. Haec ipse.' Quaresmius then states from his own part: 'In praesentia in illius situ multae ruinae cernuntur, et miserabile diversorum in quod se viatores recipiunt: sunt ibi palmae ut dixit Bonifacius; a loco unde Jordanis influit in mare Galilaeae distat ad sex milliaria. Arabice Menieh¹ nuncupatur.'

The above makes it quite certain that Quaresmius regarded el-Minyē as the site of Capernaum. He gives the name, and mentions the khan still found in ruins there, while the distance he gives from the inflow of the Jordan is sufficiently correct. But the account of the subsequent journey indicates that he never visited Tell Hūm. None of the places mentioned by Bonifacius are visible from el-Minyē, while Tiberias is clearly seen, as also the situation of the other two, from Tell Hūm. The 'haec ipse' added by Quaresmius seem almost to indicate some doubt or dissatisfaction with the quotation. To us it seems that the one guide he had was in the palm trees mentioned, and such by the Sea of Galilee could hardly be taken as a permanent indication of site.

It is worthy of note that Quaresmius suggests no meaning for the word 'Menieh,' nor does he in any way associate it with the 'Minim' with whom we shall deal later.

Nau (1665-1674) and Pococke (1745) are the earliest authorities for the present form of the name of Tell Hūm. Pococke (ii. 72) gives it as 'Telhoue,' but this is almost certainly a misprint.

Reland (1714) places Bethsaida on the western shore of the lake and consequently at el-Minyē (*Palestina*, 654), and Seetzen

¹ In the Antwerp edition misprinted *Menich*.

(1810) definitely places Bethsaida at the foot of Tell 'Orēmē (*Reisen*, i. 344).

We now turn to the Rabbinical evidences. These have to do in the first place with the Minim (*Mīnīm*), a designation which, though applied to Jewish unbelievers generally, included also the early Jewish Christians. In the Jewish writings they are named 'sinners' and 'the sons of Capernaum,' and it has been inferred that the site at el-Minyē, having received its name from these Minim, must be the site of Capernaum.

The leading passages connected with the Minim are to be found in the Midrash Rabba. In Qoh. Rab. on i. 8 and vii. 26 the connection of a number of them with Capernaum is made clear, but no geographical information is given. The stories told, however, enable us to fix the period of their association with that place. The incidents and comments gather round Hananya, the nephew of R. Y^ehōshū'a, and his contemporaries, that is, they are connected with men who lived and taught in Galilee about the year 150 A.D., but in no case do they come down beyond the beginning of the third century. But the Minim were by no means associated with Capernaum only. Before the fall of the Sanhedrin at Jamnia (A.D. 130), they were in conflict with the Rabbinical authorities there, and a section of denunciation was then inserted in the Jewish prayer named the Sh^emōne 'Ešrē (J. Ber. iv. 3 ; 30a in Shitomir edition ; B. Ber. 28b). In Galilee they were also settled at Sepporis and at K^ephar S^ekhanyā (B. Abod. Zar. 17a ; 28a).

The testimony of Epiphanius that Christians, Greeks and Samaritans were excluded from Capernaum till the time of Constantine, and presumably for over a century previously, contributes also to the argument against deriving the name Minyē from the word Minim. It is very unlikely that Capernaum should have received a nick-name from that of a people residing both in it and in communities elsewhere, or, if it had, that it should have retained that name through a period when it was occupied solely by the enemies who had given the earlier occupants that nickname. It is equally unlikely that such a name would be restored when the name of the Minim, except as a literary tradition, had totally disappeared. The argument may seem to lose some of its force from the fact that there were Minim who were not

Christians, but it must not be forgotten that, if not all, a majority of the Minim we meet in Galilee were Jewish Christians, and besides we cannot believe that when the Jews of Capernaum excluded the Christians and Greeks and Samaritans, evidently aiming at a pure Jewish city, they would permit an enemy against whom they prayed every day to remain.

The bringing of the Minim into the question in modern times has been supported by reference to another Rabbinical authority, Isaac Chelo, a Jewish pilgrim, whose statement, dated 1334, is translated thus : 'D'Arbel on arrive a Kephar Nachum . . . cité dans les écrits de nos sages. C'est un village en ruine, où il y a un ancien tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Nachum le Vieux. Autrefois il y avait dans ce village beaucoup de Minim, tous de grands sorciers, comme on sait de l'histoire de Chanina neveu de Rabbi Iehosua ' (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, Brussels, 1847, pp. 259-60). Here the author is clearly dependent on the Midrash passages, whose evidence has already been given. The presence of the Minim at Capernaum was to Isaac Chelo a thing of ancient date, and he gives no indication of associating them with el-Minyë. Indeed his mention of the tomb directs us elsewhere. The tomb of Nahūm the Ancient is connected by him with Kephār Nahūm. Later Jewish authorities have additional remarks. 'Jichus ha-Abot' (1537) mentions a place of the name of Tanhūm, and says, 'là est enseveli Rabbi Tanchum,' while 'Jichus ha-Tsadikim' (1561) reads, 'A Tanchum sont les tombeaux de Nachum le prophète et de Rabbi Tanchuma' (Carmoly, p. 385 and p. 448).

That Kephār Nahūm and Tanhūm are variations of the same name is quite apparent from the forms in which they appear in Jewish writings. The Jews also right down through the centuries visited the tombs of these rabbis at Tell Hūm. Otherwise, at the time when Christian pilgrims were visiting Tell Hūm as Capernaum, Jewish pilgrims were visiting the tombs of their rabbis at another Capernaum, and not a single word is spoken on either part to indicate a difference of opinion. Besides, we have at Tell Hūm the remains of what Jews claim to be the very tombs mentioned in the mediaeval Jewish documents (Joseph Schwartz, *Geog. of Palestine*, 1850, p. 188).

Other rabbinical references point to the existence of a place of

some importance on the site of el-Minyë, and thus clearly distinguish Capernaum from el-Minyë. In the Jerusalem Talmud (J. Taanith iv. 2; 18a), we find it stated that R. Ḥanīnā (Hananyā) claimed for himself that he merited length of days, because on his returning from Tiberias to Sepporis, he was wont to take a circuitous route that he might salute R. Shim'ón ben Ḥalaphtā at 'Ēn Tēnāh. Further references (J. Berachoth i. 1; 4b; J. Peah vii. 3, 25b; B. Kethubh. 111. b; Qoh. Rab. on iii. 2; Shir. Rab. on vi. 10; Esther Rab. on viii. 15) enable us to understand the position of 'Ēn Tēnāh in low-lying, productive country, beside the Biq'ath Arbēl or Plain of Gennesaret. In fact, it cannot be other than the 'Ain et-Tinē of to-day, the spring that rises from the rocks of Tell 'Orēmē, between Khān el-Minyë and the sea. Then the personages named in connection with it are the contemporaries of R. Yēhūdāh han-Nāsī (135-200). Thus we have in the second century the Minim resident in Capernaum, which bears its old name, but at the same time the present el-Minyë site occupied by another town, named 'Ēn Tēnāh, and that name has been transmitted to us through all the centuries in that of the well-known spring. It seems there can be no room for Capernaum there.

The etymologies of the names Tell Hūm and el-Minyë remain to be considered. The earlier explanation of Tell Hūm was that it was derived from Kephār Nahūm. The Kephar (village) became a ruin and consequently a tell (mound). The second portion of the name dropped the 'na' and the form then assumed aptly described the black ruins, Tell Hūm being 'the black mound.' But there is no 'tell' in the neighbourhood, and although Nahūm might be contracted into Hūm as we see in the Jerusalem Talmud in the case of Bethlehem (nā) s̄eriyāh, still we feel the true explanation has not been reached. That 'Tell-hūm' was derived from Tanhūm, as suggested by Guérin (*Galil.* i. 279) is not altogether unlikely. There are plenty of parallels showing the interchange of *n* and *l*. Shūnēm is the modern Sūlem, and *daphnē* the laurel, appears as *diflē*, the name of the oleander around the lake. But perhaps the real source of the name is to be found in the designation Telonium, the place of toll. In the thirteenth century, as recorded by Burchard and Ricoldo, the place of toll at Capernaum (Tell Hūm) was shown to

pilgrims, so that the modern Tell Hūm may be a native adaptation or echo of the Latin title.¹

Minyē has likewise been explained in a variety of ways. It appears in the eleventh century as Munyat Hishām, and is described as a village in the district of Tiberias (Qazwīnī's *Cosmography*).² Then Tha'ālibī (1048) mentions the spring and says that it was intermittent, which it may well have been at that time, though not so now. In the *Life of Saladin* by Behā ed-dīn (1187), it appears as el-Minya or el-Munya; while later authorities say that Munya was a large village which gave its name to the whole lake.³ Munya has been explained as an Arabic form of the Greco-coptic *monē*, with the meaning 'mansio, habitatio, statio navium' (cf. Peyron, *Lex. Ling. Copt.*), as used in both Egypt and Spain.⁴ Dozy, however, rightly rejects this as 'ad-huc in Oriente incognitum.' Another explanation is that given by Fuerer von Haimendorf in 1565, namely port or harbour. Minyē, or rather Munyē, would then be a diminutive of the colloquial Arabic *mīnē*, which in its turn was derived from the Greek through the Aramaic, where it appears as *līmēn* or *līmēnāh*, the initial 'l' being lost in the Arabic by being mistaken for the definite article. This would explain the form el-Minyē as used by Behā ed-dīn. With this agrees the presence of the harbour works, and the fact that the port on the lake in connection with the Great Highway must have been here. It could have been nowhere else. Further, it explains how a new name has been substituted for the older name, 'En Tēnāh. 'The harbour,' in the mouths of the people, would very easily throw the proper designation of the place into the background. Elsewhere the same thing is known to have occurred, notably at Alexandretta, where the proper name has in popular speech been supplanted by the term Iskele or the landing stage.

The ruin of Kenīset el-Kufūr, mentioned by Dr. Ewing, would, if the discovery could be substantiated, add some weight to the

¹ The whole subject is discussed by K. Furrer in *Z.D.P.V.* ii. 63 ff. The derivation from Telonium is suggested by Sepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*, 1863, ii. 189.

² Edit. Wuestenfeld, i. 195.

³ See Gildemeister in *Z.D.P.V.* (1881), iv. 197.

⁴ So K. Furrer, in *Z.D.P.V.* ii. 58 ff.

argument in favour of deriving el-Minyē from the word Minim. *Kōphēr* is applied to the Minim in the Jerusalem Talmud, not however as a name, but simply as a description. The most, then, that could be said would be that while the name Minim had been preserved in el-Minyē, the descriptive adjective had been retained in an adjoining site. That site, however, is not that of a church, and the position on the hill-slope could never have been important. Besides, the word *kāfir* is far too common as a term of abuse in the mouth of the Oriental to allow us to give it undue weight in a case like the present.

There remains another question that has never been satisfactorily answered,—If Tell Hūm is not Capernaum, what city or town does it represent? The ruins surpass in extent those of all other ancient sites around the lake except that of Tiberias. Pococke (ii. 18) suggested that it might represent Tarichea, but this is in conflict with the statement of Pliny (*ob. A.D. 79*), who, in his *Hist. Nat.* v. 15 describes the lake in these words: ‘quem plures Gennesarum vocant XVI M passuum longitudinis, VI. M latitudinis, amoenis circum-saeptum oppidis, ab oriente Juliade et Hippo, a meridie Tarichea, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant, ab occidente Tiberiade aquis calidis salubri.’ The Talmudic Tanḥūm (Kephār Tanḥūm) might seem to be another plausible equivalent of the site, but Rabbinical testimony, as we have seen, identifies this with Capernaum itself.

Unless then we are to identify Tell Hūm with Capernaum, we have here on the shores of the lake the remains of a very large and important town, which, from its position, must have been in constant touch with the life and history of the district, and yet has left in no record a single trace behind.

At the beginning of the fourth century there was a lively interest in sacred sites. Pilgrims visited them and books were written, giving in detail their locations and distances from one another. A consideration of the evidences shows that whenever pilgrim or ecclesiastical testimony is definitely expressed between the fourth and the seventeenth centuries, Tell Hūm is the recognised site of Capernaum, and during the time stated there is not one dissentient voice. Only in 1616 does Quaresmius mention el-Minyē as Capernaum. He had no opportunity of examining and comparing the sites, and was evidently misled by the means

of identification at his disposal, and probably was in doubt with even that. Never again was the same suggestion repeated till the nineteenth century, and then it was based on a supposed association of Minyē with the Minim, a connection we have shown to be improbable if not impossible.

The evidence of all these centuries is the more weighty when we remember that, for the convenience of pilgrims, sites were in other cases removed to more accessible places. There have been times within the last thirty years when Tell Hūm was considered dangerous and inaccessible, and such conditions must have been very frequent in the Middle Ages. There would then be good reason for moving the site of Capernaum westward, away from Tell Hūm, but never in the opposite direction, to that spot.

Then the Rabbinical evidences, taken in conjunction with the testimony of Epiphanius, bridge over the period between the first and the fourth centuries, and show that the actual site could not have been forgotten during that time. Furthermore, they exclude the possibility of identifying el-Minyē with Capernaum, by showing that, when Capernaum was in existence as a city bearing its old name, el-Minyē was occupied by 'En Tēnāh.

Hitherto it has not been possible to draw any inference from the age or architecture of the well-known synagogue at Tell Hūm, though during the nineteenth century many would have liked to believe that it was really that built by the Roman Centurion (Luke vii. 5). The building was too much covered by rubbish and the fragments of ornament were declared by competent authorities to belong to the second century. The matter has, however, now been practically cleared up by the excavations begun before the war, and almost completed before the British occupation.¹

Before the work was commenced all the historical evidences were consulted. Three steps were uncovered leading to a platform in front of the building, and it was thought that perhaps the 'gradus multos' described by Sylvia of Aquitania (385) might be discovered at the other end of the platform. A search

¹ These excavations have been carried through under the supervision of the Franciscans, and especially of Pater Vandelino, who for fourteen years has resided at Tell Hūm. Before becoming a monk he was by profession an architect, and under his guidance the work has been well done. No authoritative account of it has yet been published.

revealed a double flight, of fourteen steps in all, and accordingly the synagogue was identified as that traditionally stated in the fourth century to have been built by the Centurion.

Further confirmation was sought by a search being made for any remains of the church built on the traditional site of Peter's house, and at a short distance in front of the synagogue, lying between it and the sea, the ruins came to light. Excavation has not yet revealed the whole extent of this building, but enough to remove all doubt has already been laid bare. The central portion seems to have been in the form of an octagon, and within it a beautiful tessellated pavement with a fine border of lotus flowers has been uncovered. It can be none other than that built by Joseph of Tiberias in 330 A.D., and mentioned not only by Sylvia of Aquitania in 385, but also by Antoninus Martyr in 570. As the church so mentioned was built in Capernaum at a date when the town was still inhabited and bore its own name, the identification of Capernaum with Tell Hūm seems now to be indisputable.

These discoveries create a fresh interest in the synagogue itself, and suggest a closer examination of its various parts. It is now apparent that the beautifully ornamented stones, from which it was inferred by former investigators that the building belonged to the second century, did in reality belong to that time, and formed part of the women's gallery which had been added to the original building. To the east of the synagogue there had also been added, probably at a still later period, an annexe. This consisted of an open court with covered porticos around three sides. That it was a later addition is manifest by the fact that the pilasters of the original synagogue are still found along its eastern side, and that even where the wall of the annexe meets that of the synagogue the added stones are simply laid up against the pilasters. This annexe has been provisionally assigned to the beginning of the fourth century.

To the north west of the original building there was a small vestry or retiring room. It seems to have been erected at a later time than the synagogue, but it formed part of the original plan, as the arrangement of the pilasters in the back or northern wall makes clear.

The original first century building was a rectangle measuring

74 ft. 9 in. by 56 ft. 9 in. It was entered by three doors from the front platform, and this was reached by steps at the two ends as stated. The two side doors were each 5 feet in breadth, while that of the middle door was 6 feet. The building was of large blocks of coarse marble (white limestone), of a kind not found in the district, and the style might be described as Roman Corinthian of an earlier type than that of the temples at Ba'albek, which are dated as between 138 and 161 A.D. The mouldings on the stones are extremely simple. The two side walls and the back wall were ornamented externally by pilasters. The chief ornamentation of the original synagogue was on the Hypothyria or lintels over the front doors. It consists of palms and festoons, and in one case, as first recorded by Sir Charles Wilson, was a manna pot and probably also a lamb. Over the central doorway there was a semicircular arch with a diameter of 7 ft. It had the same linear ornamentation as the architraves, but the key-stone was further ornamented. On it (in 1919) we found in the centre a scallop shell, surrounded by a ribbon knotted below. There could also be clearly traced on each side the figure of a Roman Eagle, which had been chipped and defaced subsequently to the work on the stone being finished.

In the synagogue itself there were two rows of columns, seven in each row, and between the two at the interior (north) end were other two, making up sixteen in all. The columns were plain (unfluted) and were set on pedestals having a height of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The capitals were of the Corinthian order. The two interior corner columns were heart-shaped. The whole of the sixteen columns were set on a Stylobate which stood $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the floor on either side. It thus formed an elevated ridge separating the aisles and the passage behind the four back pillars from the centre of the synagogue.

Between the two pillars first met on entering and in front of the centre doorway a wall was erected, and there stood the shrine for the Rolls of the Law and probably the rabbi's desk, but whether this was the original arrangement or a later addition is not yet certain.

Such was the synagogue at Tell Hūm, and the style, more primitive than Ba'albek, together with the elevated stylobate, indicate a date in the first century of our era. When we remem-

ber the opposition raised by the Jews to the eagle set up by Herod over the temple gate in Jerusalem, and the bloodshed to which it led (*Jos. Bell. Jud.* i. 33. 2-4), as well as the hostility manifested against the ensigns of Caesar being taken within the city walls at Jerusalem (*Jos. Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 2-3), we can only come to the conclusion that Jews never built that synagogue for themselves, and placed these symbols there. It is quite possible that in Galilee, where there was not the same bitter zeal as in Judea, the emblem was tolerated, but we can well understand that when the centre of Judaism was transferred to Galilee, after the fall of Bether (135 A.D.), such defacement as this stone now exhibits would very soon be carried through. With such evidences before us, it seems impossible to doubt that we have in this building, when separated from its later additions, the actual synagogue as built by the Roman Centurion, the synagogue which Christ Himself attended in company with His Apostles, and consequently one of the most sacred spots on earth.

We conclude, then, that from the first to the present century we have an unbroken and harmonious chain of evidence that the ancient Capernaum occupied the site of the present Tell Hūm. The demands of the Gospel narrative are completely met by this site and not by that at el-Minyē. Rabbinical documents, by proving the existence of another town at el-Minyē, contemporaneous with Capernaum, exclude that site. Jewish and Christian pilgrims down through the centuries give their testimony almost unanimously to the same site, while the names etymologically considered lead to a like conclusion. Finally, recent excavation has brought to light at Tell Hūm the remains of buildings we know to have been erected in Capernaum in the days of its glory, or at least while it was still a flourishing city.

THE RUINS OF THE SYNAGOGUE AT CAPERNAUM

The position in which the stones of the synagogue lay when first uncovered showed that the building had been destroyed by an earthquake that had acted from east to west. Practically every stone remains on the site, so that the proposed reconstruction can be carried out with facility. The ruins were probably covered at an early date by earth and vegetation and,

unlike most ancient sites in Palestine, have not been used as a quarry. During the work of excavation 395,000 cubic metres of earth were removed. Part of this accumulation may have been drifted soil, but probably it included also the remains of an earthen roof. There is some evidence, however, that at one period the roof was of tiles, and this may have been the original roof of the synagogue (cf. Luke v. 19).

Two photographs of the ruins are here reproduced. No. 1 shows the whole length of the west wall of the synagogue and the pilasters in the wall. The door on the left led into the vestry already described. The steps on the right led on to the platform on the south front, from which three doors gave access to the synagogue. The remains of the pillars of the interior can be seen in the photograph within the walls. Most of the stones of the Women's gallery now lie inside the synagogue. Nearly all the stones in the foreground of the picture belong to the first century building and have been laid out with a view to reconstruction. The brick wall at the back of the picture runs at right angles to the brick wall shown in photograph No. 2.

In the second photograph the line of the north wall of the synagogue is visible just in front of the brick wall and the west wall may also be seen in the background, on the left, in front of a shed. The line of stones in the middle foreground is the edge of the platform that ran along the south side of the synagogue. Resting on the edge of the platform, to the left, is the lintel of the central doorway (ornamented with festoons). To the right, projecting over the edge of the platform, is the lintel of the entrance door on that side. In the foreground of the picture, to the left, is a stone with sockets for the beams of the roof. Most of the stones visible are those of the first century building. But the ornamented piece in the right foreground, below the lintel, was a part of the Women's gallery (2nd century). The key-stone of the arch of the central doorway, with the eagles on it, lies in front of the lintel of the door, but cannot be identified in this picture. The ruins of the exterior court on the east side (4th century) lie for the most part outside of the picture to the right.

W. M. CHRISTIE.

THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE JEWS

As reflected in the Mishnah Treatise Shabbath.¹

'SHABBATH' is the first of the twelve treatises that make up the second of the six divisions or 'orders' of the Mishnah. It contains the laws and regulations elaborated by the Jewish authorities of the first two centuries of our era for the due observance of the Sabbath rest. From the endless array of things forbidden to be done on the Sabbath we learn what was lawfully and ordinarily done on the other six days of the week. In this way the tractate Shabbath becomes a mirror, so to say, of the everyday life of the Jew in the period of the Mishnah.

For clearness' sake, the material collected may be arranged in three more or less arbitrary groups: I. *Home Life*; II. *Occupations, Arts and Crafts*; III. *Miscellaneous*, not falling under any of the previous heads.

I. JEWISH HOME LIFE.

1. Food and its preparation. The department of home life on which Shabbath throws most light is undoubtedly that of food and its preparation. In one of the numerous Sabbath enactments of the Pentateuch, we read: 'Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the Sabbath day' (Ex. xxxv. 3); and in the earlier instructions regarding the manna, the Hebrews are told 'Tomorrow is a holy Sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which ye will bake and seethe that which ye will seethe, etc.' (Ex. xvi. 23). Both these commands, the former implicitly, the latter explicitly, require the preparation of the food for the Sabbath on the preceding day, that is, before

¹ A paper read before the Glasgow Oriental Society at its meeting on 11th Oct. 1915.

sunset on Friday. The quantity to be prepared, according to Shabbath xvi. 2 and xxii. 1, was food sufficient for three meals—the evening meal at the beginning of the Sabbath (*i.e.* after sunset on our Friday), breakfast and the midday meal on our Saturday. This was, of course, the customary number on week-days as well—the Sabbath meals, however, were usually on a more generous scale—but the Jewish doctors, *more suo*, based the three Sabbath meals on the fact that the word **הַיּוֹם** ‘today’ occurs three times in Ex. xvi. 25!

The *prima facie* intention of the Exodus passages is clearly that the Sabbath food should be eaten *cold*, but it was discovered—how soon it is impossible to say—that it would be considerably more pleasant if the food could be kept warm without a fire. Accordingly, the pot, with its contents still ‘piping hot,’ was placed in a large hamper (**קְפָה**) filled with some non-conductive material, and was then covered over. Chapter iv. of Shabbath is devoted to a list of materials permissible and non-permissible for this purpose. In the category of the permissible are found clothes, grain, pigeons’ feathers, tow of flax, and **גִּסְרָת שֶׁל-חֲרִישִׁים**, *i.e.* either carpenters’ sawdust or shavings, for the verb **גִּסְרָ** seems to mean both to ‘saw’ and ‘plane.’ Of the forbidden materials it is easy to see why dung should be taboo, but why salt, lime and sand should be in the same category is not so evident, unless it be that they are imperfect non-conductors.

Similarly, to secure a hot drink on the Sabbath, it was permissible to place a vessel under a ‘cosy’ in the shape of a cushion (**כָּרָ**) or pillow (**כְּפָתָ**), two articles named together in the Mishnah.

In dealing with the important topic of the preparation of food, Shabbath gives us several interesting glimpses into the Jewish kitchen. We find in use two varieties of cookers, the *huppāh*, (**חַפְחָ**) and the *kīrāh* (**כִּירָה**). Both were usually of baked clay with an opening below for the charcoal, but according to Rabbi Yosé bar Haninah (Shabbath, Gemara 38b), while the *huppāh* had an opening atop for only one pot, the *kīrāh* had openings for two, a distinction confirmed by the *hapax legomenon* dual **כִּירִים** of Lev. xi. 35 (also Shabb. iii. 2).

For roasting the passover lamb the larger jar-shaped clay oven, the *tannūr* (תַּנּוּר) was employed (i. 11, P^esāhīm vii. 2).

For a slow heat, stubble and small brushwood were used; for a stronger heat, wood and the refuse of the oil-press (נְפָתָה).

The food was placed on the table in a tray, טְבִלָּה, a loan-word from Latin *tabula*. At the end of the meal, the crumbs and fragments—in Hebrew מַעֲבִירֵין xxi. 3—were wiped up with a sponge, סְפָג, also a loan-word (Greek *σπόγγος*).

Here may be mentioned a curious bit of table-etiquette from chap. xxiii. 2. The head of the household carved the meat into portions according to the number of his family; then, to avoid the appearance of favouritism, the portions were distributed by lot!

Bread was still occasionally baked in the primitive manner on the bare coals (גְּחָלִים), as in John xxi. 9, although the usual way was to stick the dough on the inside of the *tannūr* (Shabb. i. 10). It was served in a wicker basket (סֶל xvi. 3).

In the dietary of the Mishnah, as contrasted with that of pre-exilic days, the eggs of the domestic fowl figure prominently, and there are references in Shabbath to several ways of cooking them.¹ Vegetables of all kinds are met with, onions and garlic, lentils and cucumbers, etc.; of condiments we have pepper (פְּלִפְלָה) and mustard (חַרְדָּל). It is interesting to note that a cake of pressed figs—Hebr. עֲגֹל שֶׁל־רַבִּילָה had to be cut with an axe (קְרֻדוֹם), cheese with a hand-saw (מְגִירָה) xvii. 2).

Under the head of beverages, in addition to wine and vinegar, we find a more recent importation, to judge by the name (יְנִימִילִין) xx. 2—the spelling varies—from the Greek *oivōμελι*). According to Abodah Zarah it was a mixture of wine, honey and pepper (so Strack, *Shabbath*, Vocabular, *sub voce*).

2. House Furniture. In any attempt to visualise the inside of the living-room of an ordinary Jewish house of the

¹ See the writer's article *Foel* in the *Encycl. Biblica*, col. 1560.

first or second century of our era, a place must be found for three indispensable sets of articles—a set of clay jars, a set of wicker baskets, and a set of wooden boxes. In the first were kept both the household store of wine and oil—although both were also kept in skins (*נָדֹת* xv. 2)—and the necessary cereals, wheat, barley, etc. These jars were of all sizes from the light *כֶּד* or waterjar (xxiii. 1) upwards, each with its distinctive name, *לְגִין* and the rest.

While the larger clay jars, as the recent excavations have abundantly shown, were used for the family stores, wicker baskets of various shapes and sizes were in daily use for a great variety of purposes. The member of this family most frequently mentioned in Shabbath is the *quppāh* (*קַפָּה*).¹ It was provided with a handle (*עַלְבָן*) made of rope (viii. 2). We have already made the acquaintance of the smaller bread-basket (*סְלֵל*).

The wooden boxes, finally, were mainly for the family wardrobe. Three meet us continually in the Mishnah, *שְׁרָה* (*תִּבְהָ*), and *מַגְדָּל*—let us say, the box, the chest, and the upright wardrobe (all three together in Shabb. xvi. 5).

I have kept to the last one indispensable article of furniture, the Sabbath lamp. To this day the lighting of the Sabbath lamp, a favourite theme of Jewish poets, is, as of old, the privilege of the mistress of the house. This duty, indeed, was taken so seriously that it is said in Shabb. ii. 6: ‘For three transgressions women die in childbirth, namely, neglecting the monthly purification (*נְדָה*), neglecting to consecrate the first lump of dough (*חַלָּה*), and neglecting to light the Sabbath lamp.’ The whole of chapter ii. of Shabbath is devoted to this special lamp—to the proper oil to be burnt in it, viz. olive oil, and to the proper sort of wick. From the details here given it is evident that the Jews had at their command a surprising variety of illuminants, *inter alia*, oil of sesame, oil of nutmeg, fish oil and naphtha (Hebrew *נְפָתָה*).

3. Dress. As regards dress in general, Shabbath xvi. 4 shows that the Jews, like the Greeks, divided the garments in

¹ For the mode of its manufacture see Krenge, *Das Hausrat in der Mishnah*, p. 40 f.

ordinary use into two classes—*things put on*, corresponding to the Greek ἐνδύματα, and *things wrapped round*, the Greek περιβλήματα. The chapter just named is devoted to the articles in everyday use, which it is permissible to rescue on the Sabbath in case of fire. The list is headed—to the credit of the Jewish doctors be it said—by copies of the sacred writings and the cases (קִרְבָּן = θήκη) containing them. In the second category comes sufficient food for three meals, both for human beings and for the domestic animals. The food for the former is to comprise a basketful of bread, a cake of figs, and a large jar (חַבֵּית) of wine. After food, clothing—‘thither,’ we read, ‘one may carry out all the garments in daily use, and he may put on all that he is able to put on, and he may wrap round him all that he is able to wrap round him.’ Rabbi Yosé says: ‘Eighteen articles of dress [only] may a person save at one time, but he may return and dress again and take them out, and he may say to others: “Come and save with me.”’¹

Let us note in passing that the verb for the class of ἐνδύματα is לְבַשׁ (ἐνδύω), for the περιβλήματα שְׂעִיר, to wrap round (περιβάλλω), which is used in Psalm lxv. 14 in parallelism with לְבַשׁ.² The type of the ‘put on’ garment is the חָלִיק or shirt, worn by both sexes, usually with short sleeves (בֵּית חֶפֶת x. 3). A long and loose sleeve was termed של יְדָה. The ḥālūq was partly open in front, the opening, in the case of women at least, being tied with a cord (xv. 2).

The type of the garments ‘wrapped round,’ on the other hand, was the tallīth, the large oblong plaid corresponding to the Old Testament שְׁמִלָּה, and, like it, admissible as security for a loan (xxiii. 1). The tallīth still survives, considerably reduced in size, in the prayer-shawl of the modern Jews. Every student of the Gospels, of course, recognises in the misleading ‘hem’ of our Saviour’s garment (Matt. ix. 20, xiv. 36) the צִיצִית or

¹ The point here is that, as it was strictly forbidden to carry burdens on the Sabbath, a man could only save his wardrobe by wearing it all on his back!

² The distinction drawn in Shabbath between שְׂעִיר and שְׂעִיר shows that Brown, Driver and Briggs are at fault in rendering the ἀστός λεγόμενος σαυπέριον (Isa. iii. 22) as ‘overtunic,’ for the tunic was ‘put on’ not ‘wrapped round.’ The ‘mantles’ of our English version is better.

tassel attached to each of the four corners of this white woollen tallith.

4. Ornaments and Jewelry. Shabbath has much to tell us of female adornment. It introduces us to such feminine mysteries as eye-paint (**חָלָل** viii. 3), paint for darkening the eyebrows, and rouge for reddening the face (x. 6), and even to such modern articles as false fronts and foreign curls (**פָּאָה** נִכְרִית vi. 5). The hair net (**כְּבִיל**) is several times mentioned, once as the lightest article of woman's attire (ix. 5).

The articles of jewelry are of many kinds—plain finger-rings, signet-rings, ear-rings, nose-rings, jewels for the forehead, vi. 1, 5, **תְּטַפּוֹת** (the ‘frontlets between thine eyes’ of Exod. xiii. 16, Dt. vi. 8—but see the Hebrew text of Ben Sira xxxvi. 3, where Smend rightly renders ‘amulet’), necklaces, ankle-chains (**כְּבָל**, vi. 4, cf. Isaiah iii. 16). Attention may be called to the ornament termed **עִיר שֶׁל זהָב** ‘the golden city’ (vi. 1). This is now identified with the ornament familiar to numismatists as the ‘mural (or turreted) crown,’ a circlet of gold, imitating a city-wall with its turrets, which is constantly found on the heads of city-goddesses on contemporary coins.¹

Among the other indispensable articles of a lady's toilet may be mentioned, finally, **אלְזָחִית קְטַנָּה שֶׁל פּוֹלִיטָן** (viii. 2, cf. vi. 3), ‘a small vase’—probably of alabaster—‘of foliatum,’ a perfume of oil of spikenard, recalling a well-known incident in the Gospels.

II. OCCUPATIONS, ARTS AND CRAFTS.

Under this second group of illustrations of Jewish everyday life the first place belongs to the important list of the thirty-nine principal categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath. It forms the opening section of chap. vii. of our treatise. Even the form of expression is interesting, for thirty-nine is here

¹ See G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, p. 83, with Plate ix. 2 Aelia Capitolina (*i.e.* Jerusalem), p. 105 ff.; Plates xi.-xii. Ascalon, etc.

תְּהִלָּת אַבָּאִים חֶסֶר אַחֲת, *i.e.* 'forty save one,' which at once recalls the identical formula used by Paul in 2 Cor. xi. 24, 'forty stripes save one.'

These thirty-nine categories, in Hebrew idiom 'fathers of works' אֲבֹות מְלָאכֹת), may be roughly grouped under four heads :

(i) Eleven of the thirty-nine are the successive labours involved in *the preparation of bread*, the principal article of food. They are as follows : sowing, ploughing (observe the order of these two processes—the seed-corn was 'ploughed in'), reaping, binding the sheaves, threshing, winnowing, cleansing the grain, grinding, sifting [the flour], kneading, baking.

(ii) Thirteen, or one-third of the whole, form a similar list of the processes involved in *the preparation of dress*. They are : shearing the wool, washing, carding and dyeing it, spinning, weaving and sewing—the two last embracing certain minor processes which are by no means entitled to rank as 'fathers.'

(iii) Seven processes deal mainly with *the work of the tanner* in the preparation of leather.

(iv) Eight further varieties of work forbidden on the Sabbath include building, kindling and extinguishing a fire, and carrying anything from one place to another.

The complete list, it will be seen, is a rough and ready epitome of the week-day activities of the mass of the people. It is difficult, however, to explain the absence from the thirty-nine categories of such everyday employments as buying and selling, travelling, marrying, healing, and even fighting—all of which were forbidden on the Sabbath. As it stands the list is of value for the technological terms employed.

1. Farm Stock. From the above list of employments one or two may be selected on which the treatise Shabbath throws considerable light. The first of them is the all-important department of agriculture. The rest of the Sabbath extended in early times to the domestic animals (Exod. xx. 10, Dt. v. 14), and the regulations in chap. v. of Shabbath, enforcing this provision of the decalogue, give us interesting details of the live

stock of the Jewish farmer. The occupants of the farmyard fall into two classes בָּהֶמה דְּקָה and בָּהֶמה נִפְהָ (xxiv. 2), i.e. 'large cattle' and 'small cattle' respectively (cf. the German Grossvieh and Kleinvieh). The specific animals mentioned in Shabbath are the camel, the horse, the donkey, cows, sheep (with white wool, vii. 2), and goats.

It was customary to lead the camels, as is done to-day, in Indian file (v. 3). The usual riding beast was the donkey (xxiv. 1). The donkeys of Palestine seem to have been less hardy than ours, as they had to be protected by a rug or cloth (v. 2). Indeed the Gemara quotes a popular saying to the effect that 'the ass freezes even at the summer solstice' (lit. 'at the circuit of Tammuz' Shabb. 53a).¹ They were decked out with little bells (זֹנִים), recalling Deutero-Zechariah's picture of the Messianic age, when the horses are to be adorned with bells (מַלְוִת) inscribed קָרֵשׁ לִיהְיוֹת (Zech. xiv. 20).

Calves, when being weaned, were compelled to wear muzzles (גִּימֹן, κημός, v. 4). The sentence immediately following illustrates a widely spread superstition; on the Sabbath a cow's udder might not be covered, as it was on week-days, 'with a hedgehog's skin' (בְּעֹזֶר הַקּוֹפֶה). When a cow refuses to let down her milk, it is believed, in parts of the world where snakes abound, that a snake has already helped himself to the milk, hence the protection of the hedgehog's skin.²

In xxiv. 3 mention is made of the 'fatted calf,' which was forcibly fed for the market, or for home consumption—the verb is מְרַחַ, a Piel form (cf. classical מְרִיאָ a fatling). The unfortunate animal, however, had a respite from this process on the Sabbath, as had also the domestic fowls with a similar destination. The latter addition to the farmyard stock had been introduced into Palestine from the East in the Persian period. Cocks and hens alike wore coloured threads on their legs, presumably for purposes of identification. Another domestic bird was the goose (נַיְלָה); pigeons, also, were kept in great numbers, both the ordinary pigeon in the outside dovecot, and

¹ Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud*, i. 438.

² Jewish students from South Africa have assured the writer that this is not a superstition but a fact!

the house variety, introduced by, and named after, Herod (xxiv. 3). Tame ravens are also mentioned (xvii. 1), probably with a view to crow-pie !

In the history of Jewish husbandry, bee-keeping is first met with in the Mishnah ; the hives (**כִּירָת**) were made of straw or rushes. Bees, like pigeons, might be supplied with water on the Sabbath, not so fowls or geese.

Among the foodstuffs for cattle, in addition to 'ears of corn' (**עַמְּרִיר** xxiv. 2), chopped straw (**תִּבְנָה** the modern *tibn*), vetches, etc., it is interesting to find the **חֲרִיבִין**, the pods of the carob-tree (modern Arabic *kharrūb*), the familiar 'husks that the swine did eat' (Luke xv. 16). The pig itself (**חַזֵּר**) is not mentioned in Shabbath. An indispensable part of the farm was the barn or granary (**אֹצֶר**), where the grain and *tibn* were stored in large hampers, the inevitable *quppōth*.

2. Arts and Crafts. Let us now go a little further afield, and make the acquaintance of the representatives of some other occupations, especially of the arts and crafts of the period, and of the craftsmen, of whom Jesus ben Sira, two centuries before, had beautifully said :

They maintain the fabric of the world,
And in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer.

(Eccl. xxxviii. 34.)

The crafts on which Shabbath throws most light are those of the weaver, the tanner, the dyer, and the fuller. On certain technical terms of the weaver's craft, such as warping, leashes and leash-rods (vii. 2), the writer ventures to think that he was able to throw some fresh light in the article on 'Weaving' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (*q.v.*). As regards the art of dyeing, in which the Jews became especially skilled, and of which in many places they had almost a monopoly in the early middle ages, we find, among the dye-stuffs named, *isatis* (**אַסְטִים**) or dyer's woad, which yielded the favourite blue colour, and madder (**פָּוָאָה**), which gave the equally popular red. Nutshells and pomegranate skins are also mentioned (vi. 5). The fuller (**כּוֹבֵס**), who both fulled new cloth and acted as an ordinary

laundryman (cf. Mark ix. 3), used, according to Shabbath, various soaps made from the ashes of plants, also fuller's earth, alum and urine, the last still indicated by the ancient euphemism **מֵרְגָּלִים** (ix. 5).

Of the other tradesmen met with in Shabbath may be mentioned here the mason, the stonecutter and the carpenter (**חֶרֶשׁ**), with their tools, hammers, saws, axes, etc.; the tailor, whose needle—termed **מַהְטָּשֶׁלִיד** to distinguish it from the larger pack-needle of the sack-makers (**מַהְטָּשֶׁלְקָאִים**) (xvii. 2)—was used to extract a thorn; also the barber (**סְפִּיר** (lit. the 'scraper'). Of the barber's paraphernalia, we know the razor from the Old Testament, but the Mishnah introduces us also to his scissors (**זָוֶג שֶׁל סְפִּירִים**), Kelim xiii. 1) and the Gemara to the wrap (**מֻעָפָת**) in which he enveloped his clients (Shabb. 9b).

Of occupations on a somewhat higher plane we have the school-teacher (**חֶנְן**, i. 3),¹ and the professional scrivener, who bears the hebraized form of the Latin name *libellarius* (**לִבְלָר**, i. 3). The latter used 'scribes' sand' (**אַבָּק הַסּוֹפִּירִים**) to dry his writing, as is still done on the continent. In the same passage (xii. 5) there is an incidental reference to what is generally believed to be the practice of a species of tachygraphy or shorthand (**נוֹטְרִיקָן**, *νοταρικόν*).²

3. Soldiers and Tax-gatherers. The soldier appears in our treatise as forbidden to carry arms, offensive or defensive, on the Sabbath day (vi. 2, 4).³ The former consisted of bow, sword (**סִיף**), spear and lance; the latter of helmet, breast-plate, greaves and shield. The names of the helmet (**קְסָרָה**, from Greek *κασσίς*) and of the shield (**תְּרִים**, Greek *θυρεός*) show the influence of the West in matters military.

¹ That the *hazzān* of this passage is not to be identified, as has been usual hitherto, with the synagogue attendant was first maintained by the writer in his article 'Education' in Hasting's *Dict. of the Bible*, i. 650. His argument was endorsed by Box in the corresponding article in the *Encycl. Biblica*.

² See Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, iii. 172 ff.

³ On this ground, as is well known, the Jews were exempted by the Roman government from military service.

The other indispensable instrument and symbol of government, the publican (**מוֹבֵן**) of the Gospels, figures but once in Shabbath (viii. 2), but the reference incidentally throws an interesting sidelight on a detail of the work of the customs officer. As a receipt for payment of the statutory dues the trader appears to have received what was called a 'publican's knot' (**קְשָׁר מוֹבָסִים**), evidently, from the context, a mark resembling an ordinary knot inscribed on a piece of parchment.

4. The Art of Healing. One profession still remains on which Shabbath throws considerable light, the profession of healing (see chaps. xiv., xxii.). Now healing is work, and therefore, as we know well from the Gospels, could not be done on the Sabbath. Two great exceptions, however, were made. The rite of circumcision, when the eighth day after birth fell upon a Sabbath, was performed on that day, and the necessary bandaging, etc., was allowed. In chap. xix. of Shabbath, it may be said in passing, will be found some valuable information on the subject of circumcision, the nature of the operation and the postponement of it in the case of delicate infants. The second exception, above referred to, was the need of a woman in childbirth, which also was allowed to override the otherwise rigid Sabbath laws.

In the list of popular medicines mentioned in Shabbath, the first place must be given to the Good Samaritan's 'oil and wine' (Luke x. 34), the medicinal properties of which, both singly and mixed together (xix. 2), are more than once referred to. With oil is also joined 'honey to lay on a sore' (viii. 1). Cummin was used for staunching blood (xix. 2); collyrium was used by the Jews, as by others, as an eye salve. Numerous herbs, further, are mentioned in chap. xiv. as cures for various ailments. Cold water was known as a cure for sprain (xxii. 6).

For toothache, pepper and salt were placed in the cavity of the tooth (vi. 5), or vinegar was held in the mouth. In this connection an illustration may be given of the ingenious casuistry of which our treatise is full. On the six working days of the week, a man suffering from toothache held the vinegar in his mouth, and then spat it out. But if he did so on the Sabbath, he would be using medicine, which was

forbidden! If, however, he was prepared to swallow the vinegar, he might legitimately use it even on the Sabbath for his toothache, for the swallowing of it removed the vinegar from the category of medicine, and turned it into food, or rather into drink (xiv. 4—cf. a similar case in connection with the cold-water cure for sprain, xxii. 6).

The stringency of the Sabbath laws was perforce relaxed in the hour of death, and in chap. xxiii. 4 we get a glimpse of the happenings in a death-chamber. It was permitted, for example, to close the eyes, and to tie up the chin of the corpse, which was also washed and anointed. In order to postpone decay it was customary to slip the mattress from below the corpse, and allow the latter to rest on the cold floor. We are also introduced to the indispensable flute-players who led the professional mourners (cf. Matt. ix. 23 R.V.). It is elsewhere laid down that even the poorest family must provide itself with at least one flute-player and two wailing-women.

III.

Under this third and last head place may be found for a few curious and interesting popular beliefs and customs mentioned in Shabbath, either incidentally or specifically, in order to be condemned.

Under the head of cures for sickness we have made the acquaintance of some of those sanctioned, so to say, by the profession. Other cures, however, are referred to, which fall under the less reputable head of magic and superstition. To this category belong such popular remedies as a locust's egg (*בִּיצַת דָּחֵרְגָּל*) as a cure for earache (vi. 10), or a fox's tooth (*שֶׁן שְׁוּעָל*) as a remedy for sleeplessness (*ibid.*). In the same passage we find that special curative or, it may be, prophylactic, virtue was believed to reside in a nail that had pierced a criminal on the cross. With this may be compared the formerly wide-spread belief in our own and other countries in the wonderful virtues of a piece of the rope with which a malefactor had been hanged. Such practices were forbidden by

Rabbi Yosé on Sabbaths, but the more sensible Rabbi Meir forbade them on ordinary days (**חָול**) as well, on the ground that they were one and all heathen practices, literally ‘ways of the Amorite’ (**דְּرֵכֵי הָאֹמֶרִי**).

Evidence of the universal belief in evil spirits and in the evil eye, and of the need of protection therefrom by means of amulets (*φυλακτήρια*) is seen in the use of **קְמִיעַ** (vi. 1), a small piece of parchment, inscribed with a suitable text of Scripture, which was hung round the neck. It is of course a commonplace that the **תְּפִלִין**, or prayer-straps, were popularly regarded as possessing prophylactic virtue, hence their Greek name in the Gospels—phylacteries.

To pass from this to some entries of a quite different kind, one is surprised to find that the Jews already had false teeth—**שֶׁן תּוֹתְבָת** is the Hebrew for false tooth—and teeth filled with gold, for such presumably was **שֶׁן שֶׁל זָהָב** of vi. 1. Bird lime for catching birds (viii. 4) has also a modern ring!

A curious form of self-denial had to be practised on the Sabbath, for on that holy day it was forbidden to search one's garments for vermin—the verb is **פָלַא** (i. 3). The schools of Hillel and Shammai, it may be added, were divided on the important theological and, shall we say, humanitarian, point as to whether it was lawful or unlawful to kill a louse (**מַאכְלַת**) on the Sabbath day. The disciples of Hillel allowed it, those of the stricter Shammai forbade it.

A more pleasant topic is the peep afforded us into Jewish child-life by the reference in ix. 7 to the practice of children having live locusts to play with, the counterpart of our white mice! Such playthings were forbidden on the Sabbath, hence their mention in our treatise.

Under the heading of agriculture, attention was called to the custom of protecting the udders of cows from snakes. A brief reference to a kindred device may fitly close this study of Shabbath, namely the custom—long regarded as a ‘traveller's tale’ when described by Herodotus as observed by him among the Arabs of his day (iii. 113)—of providing the fat-tailed rams with a little wheeled cart, on which their highly prized tails

were fastened to keep them in good condition (v. 4 עֲגָלָה שְׁתַחַת הַאֲלֵי). The practice still exists in Northern India, and probably elsewhere, for a specimen of an Indian cart, which had been used for this purpose, recently found its way to the Natural History department of the University of Edinburgh. An illustration of a similar cart will be found under the article 'Sheep' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

THE SYNCHRONISMS OF THE BOOK OF KINGS.

From the first year of Jeroboam I. of Israel to the fall of Samaria in the ninth year of Hoshea's reign, the sum of the regnal years of the kings of Northern Israel, as given in the Book of Kings, is $241\frac{1}{2}$ years. The sum of the reigns of the contemporary line of Judean kings, to the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, according to the same authority, is 260 years. The discrepancy between these totals is, probably, in a measure due to the existence of error in the individual figures. But it is not wholly due to error of any kind. The length of the reigns of the individual kings, except when less than a year, is always given as having been so many complete years and not so many years and a fraction, as must have been usually the case. Fractions of years are, accordingly, reckoned whole years by the historian, and in such a way that, usually, the last year of one king's reign and the first year of his successor, both being fractional, only amount, really, to one calendar year. The successive statements about Nadab, who began to reign in the second year of Asa, reigned two years, and was succeeded by Baasha in the third year of Asa (1 Kings xv. 25 and 33), furnish a proof of the chronological method of the historian and, at the same time, illustrate the statement that has been made. There is no need to assume error in any such series of statements.

Starting from this recognition of facts, the present writer has placed the reigns of the Judean and North Israelite kings in the following table, side by side, and has endeavoured, by always accepting the given figures, in the first place, to discover to what conclusion they lead, *i.e.* what further information they supply regarding the historian's method and the provenance of his figures. Error in the given figures is postulated only as a last

resort, when, without this assumption, there is a manifest contradiction between them.

The principal conclusions to which the writer has been led, and, accordingly, the hypotheses upon which his table has been finally constructed, are as follows :

(1) Usually the first year of a king's reign was reckoned from the day of his predecessor's death to the New Year's day immediately following. In other words, his first year was usually a fractional year reckoned as a whole year. The table supplies, however, several examples of reigns commencing, apparently, on a New Year's day, from which it may be inferred that when a king succeeded only a short time before or after New Year's day his first regnal year was reckoned exactly from the first day of the calendar year.

(2) The calendar year in the northern kingdom began six months later than it did in Judah. Supposing the year to have commenced in Judah in spring, it began in Northern Israel in autumn and, *vice versa*, if in Judah in autumn then in Northern Israel in the following spring. For this reason the regnal years of a north Israelite king, after his first (partial) year, began in the middle of the regnal years of his Judean contemporary and *vice versa*. This overlapping is shown in the table by the equation of each year of the Judean kings with two years of their north Israelite contemporaries, and by a double entry of the numbers denoting the regnal years of the Israelite kings. The first entry of a regnal year, in these cases, denotes (provisionally) the first six months of the year and the second entry the second six months.

(3) There are, apparently, several cases of a son being associated with his father, as co-regent or colleague, and thus beginning his reign before his father's death. It is not improbable that this would be done in order to secure the succession, so that even a young boy might be so associated. In these cases the son's reign may be reckoned to commence at the date of his association with his father (Jehoram of Judah, Hezekiah), or may be reckoned to commence from his father's death, or may be reckoned both ways owing to a difference in the systems of the sources employed by the compiler of the Book of Kings (Ahab, Jehoram of Israel).

(4) One case of the overlapping of a son's reign into the reign of his father may be explained by the son (Uzziah) having been

set on the throne by rebels and having been maintained as his father's rival for a number of years.

(5) There is evidence that other kings, also, for special reasons, have two accession years attributed to them, both being partially recognised and both, in a sense, marking the beginning of their reigns (for particulars see Notes 2 and 9).

(6) Errors in the figures of the text seem to occur only in the following four or five cases :

In 2 Kings viii. 25, 12th year should be 11th year (Note 5).

In 2 Kings xiii. 10, 37th year should, perhaps, be 38th year (Note 6).

In 2 Kings xv. 1, 27th year should be 3rd year (Note 7).

In 2 Kings xv. 17, 10 years should be 11 or 12 years (Note 8).

In 2 Kings xv. 30, "20th year of Jotham" is impossible (Note 9).

In the following table the series of calendar years B.C. is merely an index. It is not claimed that it represents the actual chronology. Besides, of course, these calendar years do not correspond exactly to the Hebrew calendar years, which, as already pointed out, are supposed to have begun in one of the kingdoms in spring and in the other in autumn and, so, were not themselves coincident.

TABLE OF SYNCHRONISMS.

936	Rehoboam	1	1- 2 Jeroboam [†]	912	Asa	26	{ 23-24 Baasha 1 Elah *
955		2	2- 3			27	{ 1- 2 1 Omri *
..	..	..	..	911		28	1- 2
941		16	16-17	910			.. .. ..
940		17	17-18			37	10-11 ..
939	Abijam	1	18-19 ^a	901		38	{ 11-12
938		2	19-20	900		39	{ 1- 2 Ahab * 2- 3 (1-2 of
937	Asa	3 } 1 } 20-21 ^b		899			(Ahab alone) ^h
936		2 { 21-22		898		40	3- 4
		1 Nadab ^c		897		41	4- 5
935		3 { 1- 2		896	Jehoshaphat	1 { 5- 6 (4-5 of	
934		1 Baasha ^d		895		2 { Ahab alone) ⁱ	
913		4 1- 2		881		6- 7	
		25 22-23				16 20-21	.. .. ..

+ Note 1.

^a 1 Kings xv. 1.

^d 1 Kings xv. 33.

^g 1 Kings xvi. 29.

^b 1 Kings xv. 9.

^e 1 Kings xvi. 8.

^h Note 3.

^c 1 Kings xv. 25.

^f Note 2.

ⁱ 1 Kings xxii. 41.

880	Jehoshaphat	17	{ 22 Ahab 1 Ahaziah ^j	794 Uzziah	14	16-17 Jeroboam
879		18	{ 1- 2 1 Jehoram ^k	770	..	17-18
878		19	1- 2 ^l		38	{ 40-41
877		20	2- 3			{ 1 Zachariah ^m
876		21	3- 4	769	39	Zachariah & Shallum ^x
875	Jehoram	1	22 4- 5 ^m			{ 1 Menahem ^y
874		2	23 5- 6 ⁿ	768	40	1- 2
873		3	24 6- 7		..	.. .. ..
872		4	25 7- 8	760	48	9-10
871		5	8- 9	759	49	10 ^z
870		6	9-10	758	50	1 Pekahiah ^a
869		7	10-11	757	51	1- 2
868		8)		756	52)	{ 2
	Ahaziah	1 ^f	11-12 ^o		Jotham 1 ^j	{ 1- 2 Pekah ^{b c}
867	Athaliah	1	1- 2 Jehu	755	2	2- 3
866		2	2- 3		..	.. .. ..
865		3	3- 4	742	..	15-16 ..
864		4	4- 5	741	16)	16-17 ^d
863		5	5- 6		1)	
862		6)		740	2	17-18
	Joash	1 ^j	6- 7 ^p	739	3	18-19
861		2	7- 8	738	4	19-20
.	.	.	.	737	5	20 ^{e f}
841		22	27-28	736	6	
840		23	{ 28	735	7	
			{ 1- 2 Jehoahaz ^q	734	8	
839		24	2- 3	733	9	
.	.	.	.	732	10	
826		37	15-16	731	11	
825		38	{ 16-17	730	12	1 Hoshea ^g
			{ 1 Jehoash ^r	729	13	1- 2
824		39	1- 2 ^s	728	14	2- 3
823		40)	2- 3 ^t	727 { Heze- kiah ^u	1 15	3- 4 ^h
	Amaziah	1 ^j	3- 4	726	2 16	4- 5 ⁱ
822		2		725	3	5- 6
.	.	.	.	724	4	6- 7
810		14	15-16	723	5	7- 8
809		15	{ 16	722	6	8- 9
			{ 1- 2 Jeroboam ^u			
808		16	2- 3 ^v			
807	Uzziah	1 17	3- 4			
806		2 18	4- 5			
.	.	.	.			
795		13 29	15-16			

^j 1 Kings xxii. 51.^k 2 Kings iii. 1.^l Note 4.^m 2 Kings viii. 16.ⁿ 2 Kings i. 17.^o 2 Kings viii. 25; 2 Kings ix. 29; Note 5.^p 2 Kings xi. 4.^q 2 Kings xiii. 1.^r 2 Kings xiii. 10.^s Note 6.^t 2 Kings xiv. 1.^u 2 Kings xiv. 23.^v Note 7.^w 2 Kings xv. 8.^x 2 Kings xv. 13.^y 2 Kings xv. 17.^z Note 8.^a 2 Kings xv. 23.^b 2 Kings xv. 27.^c 2 Kings xv. 32.^d 2 Kings xvi. 1.^e 2 Kings xv. 27.^f Note 9.^g 2 Kings xvii. 1.^h 2 Kings xviii. 1.ⁱ Note 10.

Note 1. Jeroboam's first regnal year, although it commenced almost at the same time as Rehoboam's, ended six months earlier because the New Year's day that marked the commencement of his second year occurred six months earlier than the New Year's day that marked the commencement of Rehoboam's second year (in accordance with the calendar as explained on page 50). In other words, Jeroboam's first regnal year was only a small part of a calendar year, and Rehoboam's first year ended in the middle of Jeroboam's second year (say in the spring of 955 B.C.).

Note 2. The length of Omri's reign was twelve years (1 Kings xvi. 23) and its conclusion (the year of Ahab's succession) is put in the 38th year of Asa, King of Judah (1 Kings xvi. 29). Omri became king, therefore, in Asa's 27th year, not long after the death of Elah, who had succeeded to the throne in the 26th year of Asa and had reigned two years (1 Kings xvi. 8).

On the other hand, 1 Kings xvi. 23 makes Omri begin to reign in the 31st year of King Asa, 3-4 years after Elah's death. The civil war between Omri and Tibni might be supposed to have lasted from Asa's 27th year to his 31st, and the commencement of Omri's reign to have been reckoned, accordingly, from the year of his final triumph. But the narrative of 1 Kings xvi. 21-22, and especially the phrase, 'so Tibni died *at that time*' (where the words in italics are from the LXX) imply that the contest with Tibni was very brief. It should, therefore, rather be supposed that Samaria was founded in the 31st year of Asa, and that Omri's reign was sometimes dated from this event, as the commencement of a new epoch (cf. 1 Kings xvi. 23-24).

Note 3. It is assumed in the table that during Ahab's first year and part of his second year he was associated on the throne with his father, Omri. There are two reasons for this: (1) it allows of the reign of Ahab coming to an end in Jehoshaphat's 17th year (according to 1 Kings xxii. 51) and (2) it explains 1 Kings xxii. 41, which says that Jehoshaphat began to reign in the fourth year of King Ahab. According to the table Jehoshaphat's accession took place in the fourth year of Ahab's reign, as reckoned from his father's death, but in the fifth year of his reign as reckoned from his association with his father on the throne. In other words, 1 Kings xvi. 29 (Ahab succeeds in the 38th year of Asa) and 1 Kings xxii. 51 (Ahab's son succeeds him in the 17th year

of Jehoshaphat) reckon Ahab's reign from the commencement of his co-regency, whereas 1 Kings xxii. 41 reckons from the death of his father.

Another way of harmonising the various statements is to suppose a co-regency of Jehoshaphat with his father Asa for one year.

Note 4. According to 1 Kings xxii. 51, Ahaziah, son of Ahab, began to reign in Jehoshaphat's 17th year, and reigned two years. This agrees with the statement that he was succeeded by his brother Jehoram in Jehoshaphat's 18th year (2 Kings iii. 1), and both are compatible with the statement that Jehoshaphat's son, Jehoram of Judah, succeeded his father in the fifth year of Jehoram of Israel (2 Kings viii. 16). On the other hand, 2 Kings i. 17 says that Jehoram of Israel became king in the second year of Jehoram of Judah, *i.e.* at least five years later than the date of his succession as fixed by 2 Kings iii. 1. Since Ahaziah died of injuries caused by a fall from a window (2 Kings i. 2), we may suppose that, having exercised active authority for two years only, until the 18th year of Jehoshaphat's reign, he lived as a helpless invalid for five years more, so that his brother Jehoram might be said to succeed him at the end of that time, in the second year of the reign of Jehoram of Judah.

The statement of 2 Kings i. 17 and the subsequent chronology both demand the assumption that Jehoram of Judah was associated on the throne with his father Jehoshaphat for some years before the death of the latter (cf. also the phraseology of 2 Kings viii. 16).

Note 5. 2 Kings viii. 25 says that the 12th year of Jehoram of Israel was the accession year of Ahaziah of Judah, while 2 Kings ix. 29 gives the 11th year as the date. Either 11 is a textual error for 12, or 12 for 11. The choice made causes no further difference in the construction of the table.

Note 6. In 2 Kings xiii. 10 the accession of Jehoash of Israel is put in the 37th year of Joash of Judah. In the table an error in the statement of the year has been assumed, and the Israelite king's first year is put in the 38th year of his Judean contemporary. This makes it possible to synchronise the year of his death with the 15th year of the successor of Joash, Amaziah, in accordance with 2 Kings xv. 23.

In order to bring the accession of Jehoash into the 37th year of Joash of Judah we should have to suppose a co-regency of the former with his father Jehoahaz for two years; and in order, at the same time, to bring the death of Jehoash into the 15th year of Amaziah we should have to suppose that Amaziah was co-regent with his father for two years.

Note 7. 2 Kings xiv. 1-2 (Amaziah succeeded in the second year of Joash of Israel and reigned 29 years), and 2 Kings xiv. 17 (he lived fifteen years after the death of Jehoash of Israel) agree, and make the death of Amaziah fall in the 15th year of the reign of Jeroboam. Similarly, 2 Kings xv. 23 makes Jeroboam become king in the middle of the reign of Amaziah (in his 15th year). Since, however, Jeroboam reigned 41 years (2 Kings xv. 23) and died in the 38th year of Amaziah's successor Uzziah (Azariah), the last-named must have commenced his reign, according to this reckoning (2 Kings xv. 8), in the third year of Jeroboam's reign, *i.e.* twelve years before his father's death. The explanation may be found in the narrative of 2 Kings xiv. 17-21. Uzziah was king in Jerusalem during the life-time of his father, while the latter reigned in Lachish over a part of the country.

There still remains for consideration the statement of 2 Kings xv. 1, which makes the reign of Uzziah commence in the 27th year of Jeroboam. This conflicts with both the dates of this king's reign already mentioned (viz. the third year of Jeroboam's reign and the 15th). Possibly we have here a mistake due to an error made in calculation. Suppose that in the source used by the historian the years of Uzziah's reign were counted from the death of his father (*i.e.* from the 15th year of Jeroboam's reign), and that he desired to calculate the numbers according to a system of reckoning from the third year of Jeroboam's reign. He would require in each case to add twelve to the numbers of his source. At one point, however, where he read that Uzziah (Azariah) became king in the 15th year of Jeroboam and where, accordingly, the figure to be changed was the year of *Jeroboam's* reign, he ought to have subtracted twelve from fifteen. Instead of so doing he has added twelve, as before, thus arriving at the statement of 2 Kings xv. 1, and producing an error of twenty-four years.

Note 8. Since Menahem began to reign in the 39th year of Uzziah and reigned ten years (2 Kings xv. 17), his last year must

be equated with the 48th-49th year of Uzziah at the latest. But Pekahiah, his successor, began to reign in the 50th year of Uzziah, reigned two years (2 Kings xv. 23), and died in the 52nd year of Uzziah (2 Kings xv. 27). There is, accordingly, an interval of twelve months between the end of Menahem's reign and the beginning of Pekahiah's reign, as determined by these statements, and, presumably, an error in one of the figures (as, for example, in the length of Menahem's reign, ten years instead of eleven).

In the table it has been assumed that no part of Menahem's second year falls in Uzziah's 39th, and accordingly, that a large part of Zachariah's six months' reign falls in that 39th year (along with Shallum's one month). If Menahem's 1-2 were made equivalent to Uzziah's 39th year, as might be done, his tenth year would have to be equated with the 47-48 of Uzziah ; with the result that there would be an interval of two years between the end of his reign and the beginning of Pekahiah's.

Note 9. Pekah became king in the 52nd (and last) year of Uzziah, and reigned 20 years (2 Kings xv. 27). He died, therefore, in the fifth year of king Ahaz. The curious statement that Pekah was slain in the 20th year of Jotham (2 Kings xv. 30), who reigned only sixteen years (2 Kings xv. 33), brings us to the same calendar year as the fifth year of Ahaz, and may be understood to depend upon an arithmetical calculation that overlooked the fact that Jotham died before the "20th year" of his reign.

On the other hand, the statement that Hoshea, Pekah's successor, began to reign in the 12th year of Ahaz (2 Kings xvii. 1) leaves an interval of eight years between Pekah's death and Hoshea's succession. It may be supposed that in this interval Hoshea was king *de facto*, although not recognised by the Assyrians as king until the twelfth year of Ahaz, and that the Hebrew narrative, directly or indirectly, follows the *de jure* reckoning of the Assyrians.

Note 10. Since Ahaz reigned 16 years (2 Kings xvi. 2) and Hoshea became king in his twelfth year (2 Kings xvii. 1), Ahaz was still alive in Hoshea's fourth or fifth year. If, therefore, Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, became king in the third year of Hoshea's reign, he must have been associated for a time with his father on the throne.

R. B. PATTIE.

MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AR-RAHMAN ON CALLIGRAPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE manuscript of which a translation is here given was formerly in the possession of Mu'allim Rashīd al-Mish'ālānī of Shīmlān, Lebanon.^a It was copied by the writer in the year 1912, and it is from this transcription that the translation has been made. The owner, who was blind, did not know or could not remember how the manuscript came into his possession.

Written in a somewhat large *Naskhī*, the manuscript offers no special difficulties to the transcriber. The penmanship is careful, neat, and pleasing, but with no claim to elegance. No clue as to the copyist is given, nor as to date nor place of transcription. The text that is presented has evidently suffered in the course of transmission. This is very evident in the case of proper names which were unfamiliar to the copyists, and which, in consequence, suffered distortion or were otherwise incorrectly transcribed. There is evidence that marginal notes from some of the earlier transcripts have found their way into the text. Of copyists' errors of various kinds there is a considerable number.

The title of the work is given as *Kitāb al-Lum'at fi 'Ilm al-Khaṭṭ*, and it is attributed to Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, al-'Anafī (?), al-Mahallī, ash-Shāfi'ī, al-Bakrī. No further information is vouchsafed, and we are left to conjecture who the author was. Fortunately the text itself provides indirectly some assistance. Reference is there made to something said by Shaikh 'Abū 'Abbās in his book *Laṭā'if al-'Ishārāt*. We know that this refers to 'Abū 'Abbās 'Alīmad ibn Muḥammad

^a Mu'allim Rashīd died in 1913, and the writer believes his books were then dispersed.

al-Qastallānī, who wrote a work with that title.^b Now 'Abū 'Abbās, who was a preacher or lecturer in Cairo, died in the year 1517 of our era. The treatise, then, which our manuscript contains might conceivably have been written a few years before this date, though of course not earlier than the date when 'Abū 'Abbās's book was written, but most probably it is to be dated later than the year 1517. How much later? On this point a clue is supplied by the author's style of address. He speaks of "Shaikh 'Abū 'Abbās." Now al-Qastallānī was not an 'Abū Bakr, nor yet an 'Abu 'l-Fidā, that he should be known to succeeding ages by his *kunya*. This fact, combined with the almost familiar use of Shaikh, would seem to indicate that our author was not very far removed from him in point of time, nor yet of place. Giving full weight to those considerations, we think that our author can be no other than 'Abu 'l-Mukārim Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Bakrī, ash-Shāfi'i also known as aṣ-Šiddīqī, and al-'Ash'ārī.^c He was a mystic, and spent a year alternately in Cairo and Mekka. He was born in 1492, and died in 1545. He left behind him a number of works, mainly on mysticism, but others of a more general nature are also attributed to him. That our author is called Al-Mahallī in the manuscript may be regarded as an additional argument in favour of this identification, since Al-Mahallī signifies a native of Mahalla in Egypt.

The chief interest of the manuscript, however, lies not in its authorship, nor yet in its date, but in the materials of which it is composed. Its closing reference to something else following shows that it is an extract from a larger work apparently of an historical or encyclopaedic nature. As our author was not a calligraphist—at least we have no record of any calligraphist of that description—he was content to draw his material from authoritative sources. His work is essentially a compilation and embodies some interesting material.

Of his authorities we wish to refer especially to three—'Imād ad-Dīn ibn al-'Afif, Al-Barbarī, and Ibn Muqla. Of 'Imād ad-Dīn we know little beyond what our manuscript tells us, but a high place is here given to him as a calligraphist, and our author quotes from some unknown work of his as to the best method

^b Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.* ii. p. 73.

^c Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.* p. 334.

of holding the pen. 'Imād ad-Dīn belonged to the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth, century.

Of Al-Barbarī we know a little more. His name in fuller form was 'Abū Ḥusain 'Ishāq ibn 'Ibrāhīm at-Tamīmī, better known as Al-Barbarī—that is, of the town of Berbera in Somaliland. Muḥammad ibn 'Ishāq in *al-Fihrist* describes him as the foremost penman of his age (tenth century), and particularly well-informed on all that pertained to writing. We are also told that he wrote a treatise on his beloved art to which he gave the romantic title *Tuhfat al-Wāmiq* (the lover's gift). This work has come down to us in name only. Our author cites al-Barbarī as his authority for the section on the preparation of the pen, so that we have incorporated in the text what is presumably a portion of the *Tuhfat al-Wāmiq*—a portion, moreover, of considerable interest.

The most interesting, however, of all his authorities is undoubtedly Ibn Muqla (died A.D. 940), of whose chequered career and tragic fate we shall learn in the text. He was probably the most famous of all calligraphists. His claim to fame rested not so much on his penmanship, superb as that was, for his brothers, 'Abdallah and Ibn al-Bawwāb (died A.D. 1022), are held by many to have surpassed him in this, as on a new method which he devised and applied to writing. His name when met with is almost invariably associated in some way with this invention. He is the 'deviser of a (new) method,'^d 'the first to transform writing from the Kufic form to its present,'^e 'the author of the new writing,'^f and so on. But the epithet most frequently bestowed on him is 'author of the *mansūb* writing'^g (صاحب الخط المنسوب). The early scholars at once jumped to the conclusion that the 'mansūb writing' was the *Naskhī*, and that prior to Ibn Muqla's time the Kufic character alone was in use. It was Baron McGuckin de Slaneⁱ who first drew attention to the erroneousness of a belief that was so quickly upset by discoveries of specimens of *Naskhī*

^d Text; see also O. Houdas, *Essai sur l'Ecriture Maghrebine*, in *Nouv. Mél. Orient.* 1886, p. 88.

^e Br. M. Or. 6645 (Biographical MS.), fol. 132.

^f Ḥājjī Khalifa (edit. Flügel), iii. p. 150.

^g For references, see Ibn Khallikān (edit. de Slane), ii. p. 133, note 1.

ⁱ Ibn Khallikān, ii. pp. 331 f.

writing of a much earlier date. De Slane was convinced that the *khatt al-mansūb* was itself a style of writing—apparently forgetful that if such had been the case it would have been called a *qalam* (pen)—and finally decided that it was a simple modification of the old *Naskhī* and not the *Naskhī* itself^j—apparently forgetful again that it was the *Kufic*, so writers agree, that Ibn Muqla transformed in the application of his new method. In this atmosphere of uncertainty and conjecture Ibn Muqla's *khatt al-mansūb* has had perforce to remain.

To return, now, to our manuscript. Its author informs us that he has examined a treatise of Ibn Muqla's which he deems it superfluous to particularise, although subsequently to our great advantage he quotes him at length in his section on the formation of the letters. Here then we appear to have the very directions for shaping this *mansub* writing as laid down by Ibn Muqla himself. His method is made clear to us from the text. He invented a new process of measurement by dots. Theoretically the dot was formed by placing the point of the pen on paper. Sufficient downward movement and pressure was then given to open the pen to its full extent, after which it was permitted to close as evenly and rapidly.^k This produced a square or rhombus ♦ ♦. The size of the dot affects only the size of the writing, the relative proportions of the letters remaining constant. Having introduced the point as a unit of measure (for this purpose the points were regarded as being placed vertex to vertex), Ibn Muqla made straight the Kufic 'Alif, which had been bent round to the right with a curve similar to that of a hockey-stick, and adopted it as his standard of measurement. It was not necessary to lay down a hard and fast rule as to the number of dots in the length of the 'Alif, and, as a matter of fact, they varied with ancient calligraphers from a length of five dots to one of ten. Ibn Muqla's next step was to modify the individual letters, taken from the Kufic, and bring them into accord with geometric figures. By this means they were easily measured, and each letter was brought into relationship (*nisba*) to the 'Alif. If the letter was so shaped

^j *Ibn Khallikān*, iv. pp. 559-60, note 27.

^k The writer has been told that the dot was determined by placing the back of the pen at its point flat down on the paper. It is difficult to see how a square or rhombus could be produced by this method.

as to form part of a circle, for instance, as in the case of the Rā, Nūn, etc., then the diameter of that circle was 'Alif, and so on. This makes clear the significance of *khaṭṭ al-mansūb*. It is writing rigorously systematised since each letter is definitely related (*mansūb*) to 'Alif, which serves as the unit of measure. The letters in their manifold permutations and combinations can thus be reproduced accurately to scale.

We are told elsewhere that Ibn Muqla gave geometric form to (*handas*) the letters of the Kufic alphabet, and the directions given in the text for the formation of the individual letters confirm this. Some of the terms there used for defining their outlines may be noted. They include *muntaṣib*, *munkabb*, *mustalqā'*,¹ *munsatīḥ*, *muqawwas*, *muqawwar*, *mursal*. Apparently *muntaṣib* means vertical. *Munkabb* is applied to a line sloping downwards to the right hand, *mustalqā'* to one sloping upwards to the right. *Munsatīḥ* is "horizontal." *Muqawwas* is applied to a line forming the arc of a circle, *muqawwar* to a flattened curve, as in an unbent or loosely drawn bow. *Mursal*² is "extended." Following the instructions given in the text, we obtain letters that closely resemble Kufic, but display an even closer resemblance to Maghribi forms. Ibn Muqla no doubt beautified writing, but the beauty lay in geometric design and in mathematical accuracy of reproduction. His was the art of the mechanical draughtsman. Less than a century later it fell to Ibn al-Bawwāb to supply the artistic element that was lacking in the *khaṭṭ al-mansūb* of Ibn Muqla. Ibn al-Bawwāb was an artist with an artist's eye for the rhythm and movement that find expression in flowing line and graceful curve. As Arab writers say, he 'wove on the loom' of Ibn Muqla, but he wove a masterpiece of his own. Thus he could truthfully be described as the 'author of the elegant *mansūb* writing'³ without requiring to be confused with Ibn Muqla or without detracting in any way from the latter's fame as originator.

The result achieved by Ibn Muqla's invention was all that might be expected. Calligraphy had been transformed from an

¹ Observe how Hājjī Khalifa (Flügel), iii. p. 156, associates *istilqā'* and *inkibāb*.

² Cf. Hājjī Khalifa [Flügel], iii. p. 156. بسرعة يده ان يرسل وهو الارسال

³ So 'Abu 'l-Mahāsin, *Nujām* (year 423): الفائتى المنسوب لخط ماحب.

art to a science. Ibn Muqla's method could be applied to any system of writing. It gave an added impetus to the development of those distinctive styles of handwriting, or 'pens' as they were called, of which the East has produced such a host. Calligraphy became a matter of study, of learning of rules, of mathematical calculations. With the aid of a pair of compasses the student could check his work and find at what point and how far he fell short of that perfection at which he aimed. In the Moslem West it was different. The Maghribins made no use of Ibn Muqla's method, and calligraphy in the Eastern sense did not flourish. Ibn Khaldūn^o was quick to note this and to explain the cause. He points out that in Egypt the pupils are given principles and rules for the formation of each letter and practise their execution (*i.e.* follow Ibn Muqla's method), whereas in Spain and the Maghrib pupils learned to write by imitating complete words which served as models, the master confining his instruction to inspecting the result, and the pupil was held to write well when there was a sufficient degree of similarity between his effort and the model. We have small cause to wonder, then, that in the whole of the Maghrib there is only one style known by a special name, and that is the '*Andalusī* (Spanish). For the rest the writing is known as *Maghrib* (Western), as distinct from *Mashriq* (Eastern). It is true that O. Houdas^p believes that he can distinguish four styles which he calls *Fasi*, *Qairawānī*, *Sūdānī*, and '*Andalusī*', but this classification is unknown to the people themselves. The rapid development of calligraphy in the East may have been due partly also to a keener appreciation there of artistic forms, combined with the desire to give expression to artistic instincts whose outlet in other directions was discouraged by Islam. As illustrative of the delight which Easterners took in fine penmanship, we may cite the experience of the Baghdad jurisconsult Ibn al-Khall^q (died A.D. 1157), who had acquired some fame as a penman. To obtain specimens of his handwriting people asked him for *fatwas* although they had no real occasion for them. The quantity of *fatwas* thus required of him

^o See De Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*, ii. p. 308.

^p *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux*, 1886, pp. 88 ff.

^q Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii. pp. 631 ff. The same story is told of his pupil 'Abū Ṭālib al-Mubarrak (died A.D. 1189). *Ibid.* ii. p 331, note 1.

became so great that he had not a moment left to himself. When at length he discovered the motive of these numerous applications, he made a practice of breaking the point of his pen before writing his answers. The people then ceased to trouble him.

We need not be surprised that calligraphy flourished in such congenial soil. To show how far flung were its branches, we give here a list of 'pens' arranged in the order of the Arabic alphabet. We make no claim to completeness. Those marked with an asterisk belong to the *māṣāḥif* or Qoranic styles. The list includes Turkish and Persian 'pens.'

'Ajwiba	Jarī	Zulf-i-'arūs
'Ashriya	Jalī	Zunbūr
'Ash'ār	Jalil	
*'Isfahānī	Jinnī	Sijillāt (Sijilli)
'Amthal-niṣf	Jawāniḥī	,, 'ausaṭ
'Amānāt		*Salawāṭī
'Andalusī	Hirrifāj	Sulaimānī
Bihār	,, thaqīl	Samī'ī
Badr al-kamāl	,, khafīf	Siyāqa
*Basrī	Haram	
Bayād	Huwāshi	Shafīh
		Shikasta
*Ti'm	Dibāj	Tā'ūsī
*Tajāwīd	Durri	Tughrā
Tarassul	Dashtī	Tūmār
Ta'alīq	Dīwānī	,, kabīr
,, jalī		,, , khafīf
Tu'mān	Rīhān	
Tauqī'āt (Tawāqī')	*Rāṣif	*'Ajamī
	Riqā'	'Irāqī
Thuluth	Riyāsī	'Uhūd
,, khafīf	,, thuluth	
,, kabīr	,, khafīf	Ghubār
khafīf	thuluth	,, al-Halba
,, kabīr	,, kabīr	(Hilya ?)
thaqīl	,, niṣf	
Thuluthain	,, , ṣaghīr	Faddāḥ an-Naskh

Qirma	Mudmaj	Mâhî
*Qırāmūz	*Madanî	
Qışas	*Mudawwar kabîr	Nirjis
	*,, şaghîr	Nast'âliq
*Kûfî	Muraşşa'	Naskh (Nassâkh)
	Musalsal	*Nâṣîrî
Gulzâr	*Mushaqq	Nîṣf
	Maṣâḥîf	,, khafîf
Lu'lû'i	*Maṣnû'	,, thaqîl
Larza	Mu'īna	
	Mufattah	Hilâlî
*Mâ'il	,, nisf	
Mu'âmirât	Muqtarin	Washî
*Muthallath	Mukâtibât	Waqtî
Majmû'	*Makkî	Wilâya
Muhaddath	Manthûr	
Muhaqqiq	Manâshîr	Yâqûtî

The history of Oriental calligraphy has not received much attention from scholars. Indeed M. Huart may almost be regarded as a pioneer in this study. Its value, however, should not be overlooked, and M. Huart rightly emphasises the importance of knowing the various styles of writing and their history as an aid to the dating of monuments.^r Basing his work on Turkish and Persian manuscripts he has given us a very interesting and useful book on the history of calligraphy,^s which brings our knowledge of that subject down to recent times.

In its history of calligraphy our manuscript stops short at 'Imâd ad-Dîn ibn al-'Afîf. Its claim to interest lies not in that quarter, but in the fresh knowledge it supplies on the subject of the preparation of the pen, and in the clearer light which we venture to think it throws on that epoch-making event in the story of the pen, the introduction of the *khatt al-mansûb*.

^r *Revue Archéologique*, ser. iv. vol. xiv. (1909), pp. 71-4.

^s Clément Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*, 1908.

TRANSLATION.

THE Book of the Introduction to the Science of Penmanship according to Shaikh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-'Anafī¹ al-Mahallī² in respect of his city, ash-Shāfi'i as to creed, and al-Bakrī as to (religious) order, may God grant to him and to his parents pardon. Amen.

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful, 'who taught by the pen, taught man what he did not know.'³ God, may He be exalted, has said 'Read for thy Lord is most generous, who taught man what he did not know,'⁴ and associated with Himself the teaching of writing and entrusted it to His worshippers. The inkstand is sworn by,⁵ and the pen is the beacon of Islam, and a necklace of honour with princes, kings and chiefs.⁶ It gives utterance to the book of God and His law. It adduces testimony on what is lawful and what is forbidden, and reveals what is in the mind of the scholar and his purpose. It is an ambassador of kingdoms, a governor in empires, the law of kingdoms, the key of happiness and prosperity. Through it the scribes carry off the palm of victory and acquire with the seven styles the seven stages (of perfection?).⁷ It is sharper

¹ Apparently so written.

² A native of Mahalla in Egypt.

³ Sura 68, vv. 4, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* vv. 3, 5.

⁵ Cf. Sura 68, v. 1. The swearing by the inkstand gave it a position of honour. Cf. Br. Mus. Add. 9562 (*Risālat as-Saif wa 'l-Qalam*), fol. 148, rev. speaks of the pen which God شرف بالقسم.

⁶ Cf. Br. M. Add. 9562 *loc. cit.* والدنيا ونظام الشرف والعليا. What we have translated necklace (*nizām*) is properly the string on which beads are strung. It may mean also marshal.

⁷ The text has

و به بجوز [بحوز?] الكتاب قصب السباق و بجوز بالسبعة اعلام السبع الطباقي.

Cf. Br. M. Or. 6273, fol. 174

للملوك سبعة اقلاما ثغلا بمملوك السبع اقاليم.

Cf. also Br. M. Add. 9562, fol. 155.

فان للقلم قصب السباق فالكاتب بسبعة اقلام من طبقات الكتاب في السبع الطباقي. Possibly the last words here and in the first quotation should be translated 'the seven classes.'

than swords, as the records of the past reveal, and is much resorted to in secret to conciliate the qadī that he may become willingly subservient. It is the mainstay of every wazīr, the ornament of every prince, and (just) how much it has in its power to show is a pleasant secret.

There is a tradition based on Mujāhid⁸ concerning His words, may He be exalted, ‘or a trace of knowledge,’⁹ that the reference is to writing. Then the Arabs say that the pen is one of the two tongues. Ibn ‘Abbās,¹⁰ may God be pleased with him, has said with reference to His words, may He be exalted, concerning Joseph, on whom be peace, ‘Place me over the stores of the land, for verily, I shall be a skilled keeper,’¹¹ that he meant ‘scribe and bookkeeper.’ Our lord Solomon once inquired of one of the Jinn what speech was, whereupon he made answer, ‘It is but wind, it leaves no trace.’ ‘Then what can fetter it?’ he asked. The Jinni answered, ‘Writing.’ And it is to the glory of writing that God, may He be exalted, revealed it to Adam and Hūd,¹² on both of whom be peace. He sent down scrolls to the prophets written (with ink) and tablets to Moses (also) inscribed.

Then, again, it is incumbent on the scribe that he should make himself familiar with the languages he must needs use for discourse in his correspondence. Thus he should know the Indian language and so on. It has been amply verified that the Prophet, on whom be peace, instructed Zaid ibn Thābit¹³ [to translate] the Book of the Jews from the Syriac and the Hebrew, and he read their books to the Prophet, on whom be peace, and he answered them.

Now on the matter of the relative importance of writing and speech, the essential thing to note is that writing and speech

⁸ Abu ’l-Hajjāj Mujāhid ibn Jubair, an early authority on jurisprudence and Qurānic exegesis. He died A.H. 101 (719-20).

⁹ Sura 46, v. 3.

¹⁰ Abdallah ibn ‘Abbās, cousin of the Prophet and one of the earliest and ablest interpreters of the Qurān. He died A.H. 68 (687).

¹¹ Sura 12, v. 55.

¹² A prophet sent by God to ‘Ād, a people of Hadramaut; see Suras 7, vv. 63-70; 11, vv. 52-63; 26, vv. 123-139.

¹³ Abū Sa‘ad Zaid ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī, one of the Prophet’s amanuenses, the first collector and the chief collator of the Qurān. He died A.H. 54 (673-4).

both share in the merit of exposition. And they are partners in it since writing manifests speech, and speech interprets thoughts and serves to unveil secrets. Speech and writing in this function harmoniously agree in the majority of cases, because they both contribute to express meaning. There is, however, this difference that speech is essentially movement but may be quiescent, and writing essentially quiescent may function as movement in the separating of its content from thought.¹⁴ Then, too, pens are the tongues of thought.

It is said that the first to introduce writing and books was Adam, on whom be peace. He wrote them on clay which he then baked.¹⁵ This [he did three hundred years]¹⁶ before his death. Then after the earth was overwhelmed by the flood the individual peoples hit upon their own writings. On the other hand some say it was Enoch, that is 'Idrīs.¹⁷ It is said, moreover, that it (writing) descended on Adam in one and twenty scrolls. The Shaikh 'Abū 'Abbās¹⁸ has said in his book *Al-Latā'if al-'Ishārāt*, quoting 'Abū Dharr al-Ghafārī, may God be pleased with him, who said, 'I questioned the Prophet, on whom be peace, and asked, 'O Messenger of God, how was each prophet commissioned ?' He answered, 'By writing sent down [from heaven].' I asked, 'What manner of writing did God send down to Adam ?'¹⁹ He answered, "'Alif, Bā, Tā, Thā, Jīm, and so on.' I asked, ['How many letters ?']²⁰ He replied, 'Nine and

¹⁴ For a similar subtlety, see Bistānī's *Muhīt al-Muhīt*, s.v. *qalam*.

¹⁵ In order that they might survive the flood, so Hājjī Khalifa (edit. Flügel), iii. p. 144.

¹⁶ Omitted in our text, but so given by tradition, see Br. M. Or. 1530, fol. 137 (quoting Ka'ab): also Muhammad Siddiq Hasan, *'Abujad al-'Ulūm* (1878), p. 101.

¹⁷ Perhaps connected with *daras*. Cf. Baiḍāwī's comment on Sura 19, v. 57 : Hājjī Khalifa (Flügel), iii. p. 144; E. Amar, *Revue Tunisienne*, xiii. (1906), p. 533. Another tradition gives the credit to Ishmael on the authority of the Prophet (Hājjī Khalifa, iii. p. 144).

¹⁸ 'Abū 'Abbās 'Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qastallānī, died A.H. 923 (1517). The full title of the book is *Latā'if al-'Ishārāt li-Funūn al-Qirā'āt*, a MS. of which is in Cairo. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Lit.* (1902), vol. ii. p. 73.

¹⁹ The tradition in fuller form inserts at this point 'He answered, "The writing with dots." I then asked, "What is the dotted writing ?"' See Muhammad Siddiq Hasan, *'Abujad al-'Ulūm* (1878), p. 101.

²⁰ These words omitted from our text and supplied from *'Abujad al-'Ulūm*.

twenty letters.' I then said, 'O messenger of God, eight and twenty.' Then he waxed angry till his eyes reddened, and said, 'O 'Abū Dharr, He who sent me of a verity as Prophet, may He be exalted, sent down upon Adam none other than nine and twenty letters.' I made answer, 'O messenger of God, there is included the '*Alif*' and the *Lām*.' Thereupon the Prophet, on whom be peace, responded, 'The *Lām*-'*Alif* as one letter was revealed to Adam and whosoever does not accept that *Lām*-'*Alif* is one letter then I am quit of him and he of me, and whosoever does not believe that the letters are twenty-nine, he shall have no escape at all from the fire.' Now, this could only mean the Arabic alphabet, since the Prophet, may God grant him blessing and peace, instanced to 'Abū Dharr the letters *Alif*, *Bā*, *Tā*, *Thā*, and the strongest confirmation is the *Lām*-'*Alif*, to which there is nothing corresponding in alphabets other than the Arabic.

According to the testimony of Ibn 'Abbās, may God be pleased with him, the first who introduced the Arabic [characters] were three men of Baulān²¹ and Baulān was a tribe of Ṭaiy which had settled at 'Anbār.²² They were Murār ibn Murra, 'Aslam ibn Sidra, and 'Āmir ibn Jadara,²³ and they assembled and set forth the letters both disjoined and attached. Thereafter they gave them precedence over the Syriac alphabet. Murār established the form [of the letters], 'Aslam separated and joined [them], and 'Āmir contributed the diacritical points. This system was then transferred to Mekka, which may the All-High honour, and it increased amongst the men [there] and they disseminated it. According to another account the first to

²¹ Text has Yaulān, apparently a mistranscription. For Baulān, see 'Abu 'l-Fidā, *Hist. Anteisl.* (ed. Fleischer), p. 192, where his genealogy is given.

²² A town on the Euphrates, west of Baghdad. See Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.* (ed. de Slane), i. p. 435, ii. pp. 15, 58, on its origin and etymology.

²³ Variants of these names occur in various texts. Instead of Murār there is Murāmir. Our text has Murād (evidently a mistranscription). For Murra there are Marra, Mara, Marwa; for Sidra, Sidwa or Sadwa (so our text), Jazra (under influence of what follows); for Jadara, Jadra, Ḥadra (so *al-Fihrist*), even Hadla (so Br. M. Or. 1530). On these, see Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii. pp. 284, 480; Fresnel, *Jour. Asiatique*, 1838, p. 557; C. de Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, i. p. 292; *Fihrist* (Flügel), ii. pp. 1-2; C. Huart, *Calligraphes et Miniaturistes* (1908), pp. 68 f.

invent and co-ordinate [the alphabet] were six men of Ṭasm²⁴ who had settled with 'Adnān ibn 'Add²⁵ and whose names were 'Abjad, Hawwaz, Ḥuṭiya, Kalaman, Sa'afas, Qarashat.²⁶ They based the writing on their names and when they remarked amongst the sounds letters which were not found in their names they appended them and called them the supplementary. Those are the *Thā* with three dots, and the *Khā*, the *Dhāl*, the *Dād*, the *Zā* [and the *Ghain*] with one dot, just as they are appended in the system of numerical letters. The author of *Al-'Iḥāf al-Jamīla fī Sharḥ al-Fadīla* has said, 'And the Arabic²⁷ script was that now known as the Kufic and from it have sprung the "pens" that now are.'²⁸

The 'Imām 'Alī, whom may God visit with favour and with whom may He be pleased, has said, 'Beautiful writing surpasses dawn in creation.' It has been said by one of the learned that writing resembles the spirit in the body, and if a man is well-favoured, and more especially fine featured, he bulks larger in the eyes [of men] and enjoys a larger share of public consideration and esteem, and so if writing be fine it captivates the imagination to such a degree that man glories in it even if the matter it contains be worthless. The 'Imām 'Alī, to whom may God be generous, once remarked to a man whom he observed writing badly, 'Lengthen the *jilfa*²⁹ of your pen and make it thicker, cut its point obliquely and to the right and make equal and

²⁴ A tribe of 'Ād, so Bistānī, *M. al-M.* s.v. They were Arabs of al-'Āriba, and their speech was one of the early dialects of Arabia. So *Al-Fihrist* (Flügel), p. 5, quoting Ath-Thiqā.

²⁵ The genealogy of 'Adnān ibn 'Add is given in 'Abu 'l-Fidā (Fleischer), p. 192. Our text has 'Andān ibn 'Adhar, evidently a mistranscription.

²⁶ There are variations of these names, which are mnemonics for remembering the order of the ancient Semitic alphabet and especially the order of the letters when used as numbers. Cf. *Al-Fihrist* (Flügel), ii. p. 4; De Sacy, *Gram. Arabe*, pp. 8, 9; Wright, *Arabic Gram.* (1896), i. 28. There is a further tradition that they were kings of Midian, cf. *Al-Fihrist*, etc.

²⁷ Our text has *gharbī* (western) instead of *'arabī*, although the latter is evidently intended.

²⁸ This same comment is given in Ḥājjī Khalifa (Flügel), iii. p. 149, where it is seemingly attributed to Ibn Ishāq. The 'pens' here are the different species or styles of writing.

²⁹ The part where the reed is cut away to shape the pen. See De Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe* (1826), ii. p. 334.

erect your '*Alif*' and your '*Lām*'.³⁰ This injunction epitomizes the fundamentals of writing.

As-Şūlī³¹ inquired of one of the scribes on the score of writing when he would consider that writing merited the description of good, and he replied,³² 'When its parts are symmetrical, its '*Alif*' and its '*Lām*' made long, its lines regular, its terminals made similar to its up-strokes, its '*Ains*' opened, its '*Rā'* clearly distinguishable from its '*Nūn*', its paper polished,³³ its ink sufficiently black,³⁴ with no commixture of styles, permitting of rapid visualisation of outline, and quick comprehension of content, its separations clearly defined, its principles carefully observed, its thinness and thickness in due proportion, its '*aṭnāb*' equalised, its '*ahdāb*' suitably rounded, its '*nawājid*' made small, and its '*mahājir*' opened. It should disregard the style of the copyists and avoid the artistry of the elegant writers, and it should give you the suggestion of motion although stationary.' The '*aṭnāb*' are the '*Alifs*', the '*ahdāb*' are [the letters] of the classes of '*Rā*' and '*Zā*', the '*nawājid*

³⁰ This anecdote evidently had considerable currency. Thus we find it in Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii. p. 175. 'Ibrāhim ibn Jabala related as follows: 'The Kātib 'Abd al-Ḥamid [secretary to Marwān, the last of the Umayyad sovereigns] perceived me writing a very bad hand, on which he said to me, "Do you want your writing to be good ?" "Yes," I replied. "Then," said he, "let the *jilfa* of your pen be long and thick. Let its point be fine and cut it sloping towards the right hand." I followed his advice and my writing became good.' Cf. also Firuzābādī, *Qāmīs*, s.v. *Jilfa*, where same story given with the substitution of Silm ibn Qutaiba for 'Ibrāhim ibn Jabala. A similar injunction is attributed to 'Abū 'Ali ibn Muqla in our text at a later stage.

³¹ Either 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yahyā as-Şūlī, scribe, chess-player, historian, friend of al-Muktafi and al-Muqtadir (cf. Ibn Khallikān, iii. pp. 68 ff.), or his granduncle, 'Ibrāhim ibn al-'Abbās as-Şūlī, poet, philologist, and historian. See for both, Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.* i. p. 143.

³² The piece of verse that here follows will also be found in *Majānī al-'Adab* (Beirut), iv. p. 158, where it is given as from al-Qairawānī.

³³ The Orientals polished their paper by placing it on (chestnut) wood and rubbing it with a small egg-shaped crystal (A. Herbin, *Cours d'Arabe Moderne* (1803), p. 229).

³⁴ Very black ink on very white paper displayed good writing to the best advantage, and was a feature much admired. Cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. History of Persia* (1909), i. p. 165, 'Al-Jāhiẓ (ninth century) cites 'Ibrāhim as-Sindī as saying that it would be well if they [the Manichaeans] were to spend less on the finest whitest paper and the blackest ink, and on the training of calligraphists.'

are the *Bā*, *Tā* and *Thā*, and the *mahājir* the *Wāw*, *Mīm*, *Fā*, *'Ain* and such like.³⁵

It has been said and it has been frequently affirmed that the wazīr 'Abū 'Alī ibn Muqla [derived] from the writing of the ancients as existing prior to the end of the second century [a writing] that was not after the fashion of the Kufic but showed a divergence from it in the direction of some of those styles now recognised, and that it was nearer to the Kufic and more inclined to approach to it than to divergence from it.

Conspectus of the names of the pens (*i.e.* styles of writing) : *Tūmār*,³⁶ *Jalīl*,³⁷ *Majmū'*, *Riyāsī*,³⁸ *Thuluthain*, *Nisf*, *Thuluth*, *Jawāniḥī*,³⁹ *Musalsal*, *Ghubār al-Halba*,⁴⁰ *Mu'āmirāt*, *Muḥaddath*, *Mudmaj*, *Muḥaqqaq*, *Riqā'*, *Rīḥān*, *Tawāqī'*, *Naskh*, *Manthūr*, *Muqtarin*, *Huwāshī*, *Ash̄ār*, *Lu'lū'i*, *Khafīf ath-Thuluth*, *Maṣāḥif*, *Fadḍāh an-Naskh*, *Uhūd*.⁴¹ They comprise the normal (*Muḥaqqaq*), the suspended (*mu'allaq*), the attenuated (*mukhaffaf*), the prolonged (*mursal*), the spread-out (*mabsūt*), the involved (*mamzūj*) and the enigmatical (*mu'ammā*).

It has been said that the meaning attaching to the pens *Thuluthain*, *Nisf*, and *Thuluth* is that these pens are not reproduced on the scale of the ground form, and the explanation of this is that there are two species of those forms to which we have just

³⁵ That is, the class of looped letters.

³⁶ Tūmār is a page or leaf (*Bistānī*, *M. al-M.* s.v.), a papyrus sheet. See Karabaçek, *Mitth. a. d. Samml. Papyr. Erzh. Rainer* (1887), ii. pp. 101 ff.

³⁷ The pen from which many of the other forms were derived. It was called 'The father of the pens' (*Al-Fihrist*, p. 8).

³⁸ Text has *Riyāshī*; for derivation of this name, see text at a later stage.

³⁹ Text has Ḥawābiḥī; but see C. Huart, *C.M.O.M.* (1908) p. 74.

⁴⁰ Text has *Ghubār al-Hilya*; so also Ḥājjī Khalifa, iii. p. 150, and texts used by M. Huart. On the other hand, Flügel reads *Halba* in text of *al-Fihrist* (p. 9). The 'dust of the racecourse' (*Halba*) appears to give better meaning than the other.

⁴¹ C. Huart, *C.M.O.M.* (1908), pp. 25-65, describes of the above *Naskh*, *Thuluth*, *Riqā'*, *Rīḥān*, *Ghubār*, *Tauqī'*, *Muḥaqqaq*. Specimens of some of these writings are given in A. Herbin (*Cours d'Arabe Moderne*), e.g. *Thuluth*, *Rīḥān*, *Naskh*, *Riqā'*. Br. M. Or. 7350 shows some good specimens of *Rīḥān*, *Muḥaqqaq*, *Thuluth*, *Tauqī'*, *Ghubār*, *Riqā'*, etc. Very fine specimens of the more elaborate writings are given in the *Jawāhir Zawāhir* (Delhi) and *Tulṣat al-'Aḥbāb*, both of Muhammad Nuṣrat 'Alī. Other specimens (especially Western) in Bresnier, *Cours de Langue Arabe* (1855), pp. 99 ff.

referred. Those represent, so to speak, the extremes. One of them, the *Tūmār*, is rectilinear, the other called *Ghubār al-Halba* is purely curvilinear. Now the pens partake of the rectilinear and curvilinear in differing degrees according as there are in them lines straight [or curved]. Now if there is found in a pen what corresponds to the half size of the lines of the ground form^{42a} it is called *Nisf*, and if there is in it what corresponds to one-third it is called *Thuluth*, and if two-thirds it is called *Thuluthain*, and in this way the pens are classified.

The [history of] calligraphy leads us back, we are told, to two men of Syria—Ad-Dahhāk⁴² and 'Ishāq ibn Hammād⁴³ who both wrote the *Jalīl* after the fashion of the *Tūmār* and closely akin to it. Ad-Dahhāk lived in the Khalifate of As-Saffāh, the first of the 'Abbasite Khalifs, and 'Ishāq ibn Hammād in the Khalifate of Al-Mansūr. Thereafter Ibn 'Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī⁴⁴ took from 'Ishāq ibn Hammād the *Jalīl* and fashioned from it a pen lighter than it and called it *Thuluthain*. He was the foremost penman of his time. After a time he derived from it a pen which he called *Thuluth*. The author of *Al-'Abhār* has recorded that Yūsuf ibn 'Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī took the *Jalīl*⁴⁵ from 'Ishāq also and derived from it a pen thinner than it which Dhū 'r-Riyāsatain al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, the wazīr of Al-Ma'mūn, so admired that he gave orders that the state registers should be copied in that hand, and named it *Riyāsī*.⁴⁶ Someone has remarked, 'I think this is the *Tauqī'āt*.' But this is not so, for the *Riyāsī* leans to the *Muḥaqqaq* and the *Naskh*. There is no eclipse and

^{42a} The words in brackets are a restoration of a copyist's omission, based on the analogy of the following sentence.

⁴² Ad-Dahhāk ibn 'Ajlān had as predecessor in the art of fine writing Quṭba. He died A.H. 154 (771); Hājjī Khalifa, iii. p. 150. C. Huart, *C.M.O.M.* p. 73.

⁴³ A native of Baghdad who made great use of the *Jalīl* and *Tūmār*. He had a large number of pupils who invented and used a variety of styles of writing. They included *Dibāj*, *Tūmār al-Kabīr*, *Thuluthain*, *Zunbūr*, *Musattah*, *Haram*, *Mu'āmirāt*, *'Uhād*, *Qışaş*, *Sijillāt*, *Hirrifāj*. See Hājjī Khalifa, iii. p. 150.

⁴⁴ He died in the year A.H. 200 (815), and his brother Yūsuf in A.H. 210 (825). Our text has *Sihri*.

⁴⁵ So written; but very possibly a mistake for *Jalīl*.

⁴⁶ Hājjī Khalifa (iii. p. 150) attributes the invention to Faḍl, so also *Al-Fihrist* (p. 9), although previously (p. 8) it says that *Mudawwar al-Kabīr*, derived from *Khafif an-Nisf ath-Thaqil*, was called by the scribes *Riyāsī*.

no abasing (of letters) and it is large-headed throughout. The *Tauqī'āt*, on the other hand, inclines to the class of 'coiled' pens and that is a feature of it. Following the account given by An-Nahhās,⁴⁷ Al-'Aḥwal⁴⁸ then learned from 'Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī the *Thuluthain* and the *Thuluth* and fashioned from the latter a pen which he named *Musalsal*, a pen he called *Ghubār al-Halba*, another he called *Mu'āmirāt*, another he called *Qışaş*, and another he called *Jawāniḥī*; and Wajh an-Na'ja⁴⁹ was preeminent in the *Jalī* (?).⁵⁰ At the beginning of the third century fineness in writing and its embellishment culminated in the wazīr⁵¹ ['Abū] 'Alī ibn Muqla and his brother ['Abū] 'Abdallah.⁵² He conceived a new method and brought it into execution. There was current in their time a style which matches theirs.⁵³ ['Abū] 'Abdallah was solely occupied with copying and the wazīr ['Abū] 'Alī with the *darj*.^{53a} The credit of bringing to perfection this art rightly belongs to the wazīr ['Abū] 'Alī, since he invented and gave a geometric cast to the letters. He perfected their reproduction, and laid down their rules, and his fame spread abroad to the east

⁴⁷ Perhaps 'Abū Ja'afar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Isma'il an-Nahhās, who was a teacher in Cairo and a pupil of az-Zajjāj. Whilst absent-mindedly scanning some verses at the Nilometer, he was pushed into the Nile by a bystander who disapproved of what he thought was an incantation to prevent the rise of the waters. An-Nahhās, in consequence, was drowned, A.H. 338 (950).

⁴⁸ It would appear then that Al-'Aḥwal (the squint-eyed) was the cognomen of Yūsuf ibn 'Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī. According to *Al-Fihrist* 'Ibrāhīm was 'Aḥwal.

⁴⁹ *Al-Fihrist* speaks of the Banū Wajh an-Na'ja, classing them with the *Muharrirīn* (p. 9).

⁵⁰ Text has ح.

⁵¹ His full name 'Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muqla. Ibn Muqla (eyeball) was a cognomen, so *Al-Fihrist*.

⁵² 'Abū 'Abdallah al-Ḥasan ibn Muqla. On whom, see C. Huart, *C.M.O.M.* pp. 76 f. He died A.H. 338 (949). There is something not very clear about this man. He is given by Ibn Khallikān as the brother, not of Ibn Muqla, but of Ibn al-Bawwāb, unless, indeed, each had a brother of that name.

⁵³ The *Fihrist* gives further information on this point, the writers of the style referred to being sons and other relations of these two famous calligraphists, the most prominent being 'Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallah, 'Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn 'Abū 'Alī, 'Abu 'Aḥmad Sulaimān ibn 'Abu 'l-Ḥasan, 'Abū 'l-Ḥasan ibn 'Abū 'Alī (p. 9).

^{53a} Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; *kātib ad-darj* signifies a writer who transcribed the acts to which the class of paper called *darj* was consecrated.

and the west of the earth. 'Abū 'Ali ibn Muqla, God be merciful to him, died in the year 326 [A.D. 938].⁵⁴ The story goes that in his time he was wazīr three times to three Khalifs, namely Al-Muqtadir, Ar-Rādī, and Al-Qāhir. He had a garden filled with trees amongst which there were no palms. In it he set up a silken net, and there nested there birds which do not nest in the trees such as nightingales [*hazār*], turtle-doves, parrots, bilbuls, and peacocks. He kept in it, too, gazelles, ostriches, and wild asses in numbers. The news having been brought to him that a sea-bird had laid eggs and hatched out, he gave his informant one hundred dinars.⁵⁵ In course of time he was confined a prisoner and exiled. He supported himself by his penmanship and a specimen of his work fetched a thousand dinars.⁵⁶ Then his hand was cut off and in prison he used to draw water with his left hand.⁵⁷ Sitiens aliquando, aqua desinente, minxit urinamque suam bibit. He died in the prison attached to the royal palace. Thereafter his body was exhumed and buried in the court of his own house. Once more exhumed, it was buried somewhere else. The story goes that after his death his body was subjected to three burials, that in his life time he made three journeys,⁵⁸ and was appointed wazir three times. The poet has given utterance to the following in lamenting him. 'The tears outstripped the steeds in their coursing, when he who loved him well heard the news; then let the veils be swift drawn on the cheeks, and mourn, for an Ibn Muqla will never be seen again.'⁵⁹ There learned from Ibn Muqla, Muḥammad

⁵⁴ The date of his death is generally given as A.H. 328 (940).

⁵⁵ The reason of his joy was that a sea-bird had mated with a land-bird. The reward for the news is elsewhere given at a thousand dīnārs, cf. Huart, *C.M.O.M.* p. 76.

⁵⁶ The amount will be found to vary with the narrator and the effect he wishes to produce. Thus Br. M. Or. 6645, fol. 131, gives it as 'a thousand thousand dīnārs.'

⁵⁷ Ibn Khallikān explains that he used to draw water from the prison well by seizing the rope alternately with his left hand and his teeth.

⁵⁸ It has sometimes been assumed that this means he performed the pilgrimage three times (cf. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* pp. 589-90), but Br. M. Or. 6645, fol. 132, gives the journeys as 'one to Moṣul and two in his banishments to Shīrāz.'

⁵⁹ The fate of Ibn Muqla was grievous. He had his tongue cut out, and, it is said, had also his left hand cut off. It is interesting to know that when he

ibn as-Simsimānī⁶⁰ and Muḥammad ibn 'Asad,⁶⁰ and they had as pupil the 'Ustādh 'Alī ibn Hilāl, generally known as Ibn al-Bawwāb.⁶¹ He it was who perfected the laws of writing, but the one who may be said to have invented the pens was he who laid their foundations, Ibn Muqla. According to Ibn Khallikān, 'Alī ibn Hilāl died in the year 413 [A.D. 1022] and a poet has given expression to this eulogium. 'The scribes felt thy loss of yore and the days as they pass confirm this, hence the pages are blackened with sorrow, and the pens are rent with affliction.' Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Mālik learned from him, and from the former the Shaikha, the traditionist Zina, known otherwise as Shuhda ibnat al-'Ibari,⁶² received instruction, and from her learned 'Amin ad-Dīn Yāqūt an-Nūrī.⁶³ And from him [in his turn] Al-Wallī al-'Ajamī,⁶⁴ from whom again learned Al-'Afif, his son 'Imād ad-Dīn and his son Nūr ad-Dīn. 'Imād ad-Dīn was in his time like Ibn al-Bawwāb [in his]. There is a story told of one who [held converse] in a dream with a man who had died and said to him, 'What did God do with you?' He

lost his right hand he continued to write by affixing the pen to the stump. وَكَانَ بِشَدَّةِ الْقَلْمَنْ عَلَى يَدِهِ وَيَكْتُبُ

⁶⁰ See C. Huart, *C.M.O.M.* p. 79.

⁶¹ 'Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Hilāl, known as Ibn Al-Bawwāb, his father having been a *bawwāb* or doorkeeper. According to Ibn Khallikān, he had no rival and none ever attained to his pitch of excellence. The merit of Ibn al-Bawwāb was that he made writing more regular and simple, and clothed it with grace and beauty. See Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), ii. pp. 282 ff.

⁶² Shuhda ibnat 'Abū Naṣr 'Alīmad ibn al-Faraj al-'Ibarī ad-Dīnawārī, sur-named Fakhr an-Nisā (glory of women), also Kātiba and Sitt ad-Dār. She wrote a beautiful hand and instructed great numbers in the traditions. She married 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ad-Durainī, who became a favourite of Al-Muqtāfi. Shuhda died A.H. 574 (1178), aged upwards of ninety years. See Ibn Khallikān (De Slane), i. p. 625. M. Huart's text shows Zainab instead of Zina, and he reads Shahāda instead of Shuhda.

⁶³ Apparently 'Abu 'd-Durr Yāqūt ibn 'Abdallah al-Mauṣili (of Mosul), called also 'Amin ad-Dīn. According to Ibn Khallikān, 'the style of writing employed by Ibn al-Bawwāb in transcription, excellent and renowned as it is, does not come up to his' (De Slane, iv. pp. 2 f.). He had a passion for transcribing the Ṣahāli of Al-Jauhari. He died at Mosul A.H. 618 (1221-2).

⁶⁴ M. Huart has apparently Wāli in his text. Our text has Wallī indicated. This is also the reading which De Sacy has taken from Ibn Khaldūn. There the name is given Al-Wallī 'Alī al-'Ajamī (*Chrest. Arabe*, ii. p. 330).

answered. ‘In my writing I used to take great pains with بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ and he pardoned me on that account.’ It is also said that when the text is illustrious its writing is a virtue.

The chapter on the science of the reed-pen :—When the reeds are cut the ripeness should not be perfected in its *hubrum*^{64a} and the water should be dried up in its rind. Let it be cut after throwing off its seeds, let its pith be firm and its body of full weight.⁶⁵

Ibn 'Ibrāhīm al-Barbarī⁶⁶ has said that the pen which is cut obliquely gives a writing thinner and more elegant, the pen [whose point is cut] straight one firmer and clearer, whilst the intermediate partakes of the characteristics of both. By length in the head the light hand is assisted in writing, by shortness the reverse. The best length [that can be laid down] for a pen is that it should not exceed a span by more than its *jilfa*. If the reed is straight [the operator] should cut it at its thinnest end, and if bent cut it on the under side (of the curve). And he should split it in the direction of the knot which adheres to the back, and should make the two sides equal. He should take care in his cutting that the knife does not take from one side more than from the other but should hold the balance even between them. Many a time also one of the two ‘teeth’ will overlap⁶⁷ the other and it is not possible to remedy the defect

^{64a} So given and vocalised in the text. It does not seem to have any connection with حرمان. If it is not a mistranscription, it may perhaps be from حب and رمي, a colloquial form possibly.

⁶⁵ The best of these reeds come from Mesopotamia, from Hilla or Wāsiṭ. After being harvested they are put to soak in bundles in the marshes where they grow, and thus acquire a deep brown colour. When they have been dried and prepared, they are hard and suited for making into pens. There are reeds of all thicknesses from which pens can be selected according to the nature of the writing. See A. Herbin, *Cours d'Arabe Moderne*, p. 226.

⁶⁶ 'Abu 'l-Husain Ishāq ibn 'Ibrāhīm at-Tamīnī al-Barbarī (from the town of Berbera) was the best writer of his time, and the teacher of Al-Muqtadir and his sons. He was the author of a famous treatise on calligraphy called *Tuhfat al-Wāmiq*, from which evidently a part of the text that here follows has been taken.

⁶⁷ Caused by failing to keep the blade of the knife perpendicular and permitting it to incline to one side or the other.

save by scrapping the cutting as made and renewing it. The *jilfa*, too, should be the size of the circumference of the reed in thinness and thickness ; this is the best that can be laid down for the size of the *jilfa*.

Now the cutting⁶⁸ comprises four processes—the initial cutting (*fath*), the splitting (*shaqq*), the paring (*naht*) and pointing (*qatt*). As for the *fath* in the case of a tough reed the hollowing out should be greater, in a soft reed less, and in a medium reed betwixt and between. The *naht* is of two kinds, that of the sides and that of the core. As to the *naht* of the sides it is necessary that it should be even (equal) on both edges, and one side only should not be pared so as to weaken it, the pith, also, of the reed in the core should be evenly distributed. The *shaqq* should be central to the *jilfa* whether it be thin or thick. The *shaqq*, too, varies according to the reeds ; if they are tough the greater part of the *jilfa* is cleft, if soft one third of the *jilfa* only, if medium take the mean between them. Some split the reed from its back and some from its core, but so long as it is central that is a matter of indifference.

As regards the method of the cutting :—You begin by laying the knife⁶⁹ down flat, grasp the knife at the point where its *jilfa* begins,^{69a} let your fingers close tightly on it as if grasping the bow, put your thumb on the back of the knife, then apply the edge to the part contiguous to the tip of the pen. The form of the *jilfa*, too, is of different kinds. One consists in thinning away the two sides and leaving the middle a trifle thick, another in rooting out all the pith, and yet another in so paring the two sides of the centre as not to suffer the hand to be deflected to right or left until the rind and the pith are symmetrical. The place of pointing (*qatt*) should be broader than its (*jilfa's*) middle^{69b}

⁶⁸ ‘To cut the reed place it on the ball of the left thumb holding it with the forefinger. A beginning is made by cutting in, to two-thirds of the thickness. . . . The *qalam* is then split in the middle,’ etc. A. Herbin, *op. cit.* pp. 227 f.

⁶⁹ Is *sikkin* a transcriber’s error for *qalam* ?

^{69a} **عند فتح جلفة** where *jilfa* is apparently the point where the blade of the knife begins to fall away from the thickness at the haft. If *qalam* is correct in the previous clause, this sentence may be translated (after a full stop) : ‘the grasp of the knife during the cutting of the *jilfa* (is as follows).’

^{69b} See E. Johnston’s *Writing and Illuminating and Lettering* (1906), p. 56, fig. 28.

because (otherwise) it will (only) operate with difficulty in writing a light style (*khafif*). The pith should be central in all cases.

The cutting of the point (*qatt!*)⁷⁰ includes the oblique (*muḥarrat*), the straight (*mustawā*), the upright (*qā'im*) and the projecting (?) (*mansūb*).⁷¹ The best of them is the oblique with a moderate slant. There are some who pin their faith to roundness of nibbing and laud it—I mean the rounded. In this there should be no trace of bias visible, but place your hand in this case on the knife in a convenient way, and in the process [of cutting] do not let your hand incline to the right hand nor to the left. Let your hand turn with no tendency and by 'let your hand turn with no tendency' I mean with bias neither before nor behind in order that you may not find one of the two cleft edges exceeding the other by the least little bit. And the *qā'im*, if the pith and the rind be together, is not to be commended because the combination of pith and rind is unsatisfactory.⁷²

⁷⁰ This is done on a small block of hardwood, bone, ivory, silver, etc., called *mīqāṭ*. For the cutting of the point, the pen is placed on its back on the *mīqāṭ*. Quill pens, when used in the West, were cut by placing the pen face downwards on the nail of the left thumb and applying the knife. The *mīqāṭ*, we are told, should be rounded, not square or hexagonal, lest the pen be placed on one of the edges and be spoiled in the process of cutting (Br. Mus. Or. 6273, *Al-'abrār fi bari 'l-qalam*).

⁷¹ I can think of no satisfactory translation for *mansūb* here. No account is given of it in the text that immediately follows, but the *mudawwar* is explained. It may be that *mansūb* has by some mistake taken the place of *mudawwar* in the opening sentence. For the different kinds of quill nibs, cf. E. Johnston, *Writing and Illuminating and Lettering* (1906), p. 59. The *mansūb* may, possibly, be the form shown in fig. 36, *a* and *b*, and the *qā'im* that of fig. 36 *e*. An explicit account of the *mustawā* nib is also wanting in the MS. here translated. Its text is here evidently faulty and defective.

⁷² It is of interest to compare with the account given here the instructions on pen-making given by Ibn al-Bawwāb: 'When you wish to cut a reed, choose one that seems to you of average proportion. Examine its ends and select the one that appears thinnest and most slender. Give to the *jilfa* a just proportion avoiding excessive length or shortness. Make the *shaqq* squarely in the middle that the paring be equal and uniform on the two sides . . . then turn your whole attention to the *qatt* for on it everything depends. But do not flatter yourself that I am going to reveal a secret which I guard with jealous care. All that I will say is that you must keep somewhere between a point rounded and one cut slanting . . .' This *qaṣīda* of Ibn al-Bawwāb is given by Ibn Khaldūn (for text and translation, see De Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*, ii.; also Bresnier, *Cours de Langue Arabe*, pp. 128 ff.). Text also in *Majāni al-'Adab* (Beirut), iv. p. 159.

I have examined the treatise of the wazīr 'Abū 'Ali ibn Muqla, explanation need not be wasted in particularising it, who confines himself to saying therein, 'Lengthen the *jilfa* of your pen and make it fine, cut your nib slanting and to the right.' Later on he adds, 'Pointing (*qatt*) is the best of fortunes, a gift from God, may He be blessed and exalted, and is acquired by self-correction only.' Someone too has said that a preference in nibbing depends upon the self-adaptation of the scribes; for everyone who accustoms himself to a particular form of it of his own choice and writes with it so that it becomes a part of his nature, 'known of his intelligence and understood of it,' excludes aught else in its favour.

Now the face (*wajh*) of the pen is that which, when you apply the knife with the intention of pointing, is on the side of the pith of the pen, and its back (*sadr*) is that which is on the side of the rind, and the '*ard*' is that which is primarily affected in the process of cutting obliquely, namely the left tooth, and its *harf* is the upper, or right tooth.⁷²"

The handling of the pen:—The Shaikh 'Imād ad-Din ibn al-'Afif has said, 'The three fingers, middle, fore and thumb should be evenly spread out, without gripping, at the start of the cut part (*fatha*) and as far as possible from the commencement of the inky part (*madāda*) so that the writer may secure complete mastery over the will of the pen. He should not apply any violent pressure to the pen nor yet grasp it with too light a hand. On it the poet has framed the lines:—'He of the dripping, kneeling, worshipping,⁷³ brother of Ṣilāh⁷⁴ thus with flowing tears following hard after the five fingers on their occasions, patient, industrious, obedient to the Creator.'⁷⁵

⁷²" When a pen is being pointed, it is always put on the *migaff* face upwards, i.e. with its hollow part (*wajh*) facing upwards. The back (*sadr*) of a pen nib is the side that retains the rind, whereas the front does not. When an obliquely cut pen lies on its back the 'left tooth' is the shorter. When the pen is in use this shorter left tooth is on the right-hand side.

⁷³ Apparently referring to the three fingers that hold the pen, the middle finger, the forefinger and the thumb.

⁷⁴ In Syria where this is quoted عَمِيْ بَصِيرَ اخْرَ صَلَاح

⁷⁵ There is a play on words here الْبَارِي (according to the orthography of our text) may be either Creator or 'cutter' (i.e. of the pen).

The inking :—The pen should not be kept in an inky condition but should only be so when in use in writing, and the liqā⁷⁶ should be wiped with the face of the pen. There is, too, a motto which says, ‘Put your pen behind your ear to keep it better in mind.’

Here follows the design of the letters^{76a} :—The ’ALIF is a symbol composed of one vertical straight line with no tendency to lean to the right (*istilqā’*) nor to the left (*inkibāb*), but the movement should result in making its upper and lower parts alike. Someone has said that the ’Alif is the source of the individual letters and they are derived from it and related to it. Its measurement in length is seven points. The point is of square shape and its beginning is a point.⁷⁷ Ibn Muqla, who [was such] that if he wrote three ’Alifs or four you would find the spacing between them exactly equal, has said—the BĀ is a symbol composed of two lines vertical (*muntaṣib*) and horizontal (*munsaṭih*) and its relationship to ’Alif is equality. If its vertical part be prolonged to the length of ’Alif the total becomes KĀF written alone. So likewise with the TĀ and the THĀ. Those letters are written from the right to the left. The JĪM is a symbol composed of two lines, one right-sloping (*munkabb*) and the other a semi-circle the diameter of which equals ’Alif. And some say it is composed of a right-sloping line in union with a horizontal line,^{78a} and in length is two-thirds of the ’Alif of its writing. Its head is written from left to right and in this type the pen tends to the right producing a slight roundness. It

⁷⁶ The wad of unspun silk or cotton-wool inserted in the inkholder to absorb the ink. It prevents ink spilling, and is an effective safeguard against blotting, since it does not permit of an excess of ink adhering to the pen.

^{76a} Regarding the type of writing here described, see introduction, p. 61 f. The descriptions of the individual letters are to be compared with the corresponding Kufic and Maghribi characters. Only the forms of the letters as written in isolation from one another are described. As clear examples of rectilinear letters, see especially what is said of *Bā*, *Dāl* and *Lām*.

⁷⁷ The point for the purposes of measurement is formed in the manner described in the introduction (p. 60).

^{78a} *munkabb bi-munsaṭih*, i.e. ‘right sloping (combined) with horizontal.’ This sentence and the next may be regarded as an addition to the original text. The line here referred to is a part only of *jīm*, and is an alternative to the previously mentioned *munkabb*. Such a line when drawn from left to right tends, in an unaccustomed hand, to right curvature, thus giving *jīm* its familiar rounded head.

may be considered correct if you draw two lines to its right and left and neither of these exceeds the other.^{78b} The DĀL is a symbol composed of two lines, right-sloping and horizontal, with its total length that of 'Alif. Others say three lines right-sloping, horizontal, and rounded—these being necessary for the complete Dāl. It is shown to be correct if when you join its extremities by a line you get an equilateral triangle.^{78c} The RĀ is a symbol composed of one curved line the fourth part of a circle whose diameter is 'Alif, the relationship being determined mentally, and as a test of its accuracy if its equivalent is added to it the result is a semi-circle. The SĪN is a symbol composed of five strokes vertical and curved, vertical and curved, and flat-curved (*mugawwar*).^{78d} The measure of the head as far as the third tooth is as two-thirds of the 'Alif of its writing, and the measure of its 'line' (*khaṭṭ*)⁷⁹ if bent (*maṭūf*) is the 'Alif of its writing, and if extended (fully) is two 'Alifs and the length of each tooth is one-sixth of 'Alif. It may be considered correct if when you write two lines one above and the other below they do not diverge from each other. The SĀD is a symbol composed of three lines curved, horizontal, and flat-curved. The measure of the head of the Sād in length is the equivalent of two-thirds of the 'Alif of its writing and the measure of its curved [end], if it is not extended (*majmū'*) is 'Alif and if extended (fully) two 'Alifs. To test its accuracy its head should appear as if com-

^{78b} The testing lines are drawn through the two extreme points on the right and left of the letter respectively, and should result in their being vertical and parallel to one another. Rāwandi gives, as a test of accuracy, the drawing of a rectangle in contact with the four sides of the letter and having a proportion of 5 : 6 between its horizontal and vertical lines. Cf. Huart, *C.M.O.M.*, p. 22.

^{78c} Evidently the form described is angular (cf. Maghribi), and each of the (two) sides, being equal, is one-half of the 'Alif of its writing. Later, in the East, the Dāl assumed a more rounded form requiring other methods of measurement (cf. Huart, *op. cit.* p. 22).

^{78d} *Mugawwar* is the term used to describe the flattened curves forming the tails of the Sīn and the Sād.

⁷⁹ *Khaṭṭ* here, contrasted with *ra'*s, means tail. The prolongation of the tail from one 'alif to two 'alifs depended upon the space it was required to fill. Cf. Huart, *op. cit.* p. 23; Nuṣrat 'Alī, *Tuhfat al-'Akbāb*, p. 8; A. Herbin, *Langue Arabe Moderne*, plate iv. where the lengths of the ordinary tail and the extended tail are variously laid down. The tail measurement is made either round the curve, or, at a later date, across the curve from tip to tip.

posed of a *Rā* suspended (above) and another spread out (below), or as others say *Bā*, and the curved tail like *Nūn*. If you make of it a quadrilateral its angles will be equal in size.⁸⁰ The *Tā* is composed of three lines curved, right-sloping, and horizontal, and it is a *Sād* . . . ^{80b} transposed (*maghlūb*) and if you draw two lines from its hollow part it is like *Jīm*. Its head is as two-thirds of the 'Alif of its writing. The *Fā* is a symbol composed of four lines right-sloping, left-sloping, vertical, and horizontal, and its head is like transposed *Dāl* before the addition of the third line.^{80c} The measure of the central space (of its head) is a point in size one-sixth of the 'Alif of its writing. The *Qāf* is a symbol composed of four lines after the manner of *Fā* save that its extension from the neck is like that of *Nūn*. The *Kāf* is a symbol composed of three lines, one suspended (*muta'allaq*), one horizontal (in length an 'Alif and two-thirds), and one right-sloping (in length one-third of 'Alif). Others say that it is composed of two characters, *Yā* extended and *Yā* inverted,⁸¹ and it has sequels which are added for the sake of ornament but the fundamental part is that we have described. The *Lām* is a symbol composed of two lines vertical and horizontal. The horizontal is equivalent to two-thirds of 'Alif, and the vertical to 'Alif, and if you draw a line from its beginning to its end it will form [of it] a right-angled triangle.⁸² The *Mīm* is a symbol

⁸⁰ With *Sād*, as here described, compare especially the Maghribi form. The test by means of two *Rās* is presumably a later addition and not from Ibn Muqla. For the various measurements of the tail of *Sād*, see the works cited in note 79.

^{80b} Several words have been lost at this point. What follows refers to the construction of 'Ain. The head of this letter, as described, is evidently large (cf. Maghribi).

^{80c} This gives a triangular head for *Fā*, the central space of which, being small in Kufic and Maghribi, is here limited to the size of one dot. In later times the head was made larger. Thus Rāwandi gives it as three points of surface (Huart, *op. cit.* p. 25). The additional line to *Dāl* refers to the rounded tail which was a later development. The *Qāf* has the same head as *Zā*, but with a tail like *Nūn*.

⁸¹ A form of *Kāf* can be constructed by uniting together the two forms of *Yā* (extended and inverted).

⁸² This description of *Lām* clearly shows its rectilinear character (cf. Kufic). In later times to form *Lām* the instruction was given to add an 'Alif to a *Nūn* (cf. Huart, *op. cit.* p. 25; Nuṣrat 'Ali, *op. cit.* p. 8).

composed of four lines, one right-sloping, another curved, and then one left-sloping in union with a curved line. Its circular part is like *Rā*, the fourth part of a circle, and the test of its accuracy the same as for *Rā*.⁸³ *Nūn* is a letter composed of one curved line, a semi-circle determined mentally, its measure an '*Alif*' and if extended two '*Alifs*'. If its equivalent is added to it the whole becomes a circle. The *Hā* is a symbol composed of three lines, right-sloping, horizontal and left-sloping, the length of the right-sloping is half of the '*Alif*' of its writing. So with the left-sloping. The left-sloping cuts the right-sloping at two-thirds [of its length]. If a quadrilateral is made of it the upper and the lower angles are equal.⁸⁴ The *Wāw* is a symbol composed of three lines like *Fā* with its [final] curvature like *Rā*, that is a quarter of a circle.⁸⁵ *Lām-'Alif* is a symbol composed of three lines right-sloping, horizontal, and left-sloping. The length of the right-sloping is as '*Alif*', the horizontal one-third of '*Alif*', and the left-sloping is as the '*Alif*' of the writing. The *Yā* is a symbol composed of three lines right-sloping, left-sloping, and curved, the latter being like *Nūn* and its test as for *Rā* and its sisters.

This chapter is now finished and there follows something else.

EDWARD ROBERTSON.

⁸³ The *Mim* has a final curved tail as in Maghribi, but evidently not reversed as we find it there.

⁸⁴ *Hā* is given the same shape as the following *Lām-'Alif*, which latter is evidently the same as in Kufic.

⁸⁵ This means that *Wāw* is constructed from the first three lines of *Fā* (which form its head), and that its tail is like *Rā*.

SOME SPECIMENS OF MOSLEM CHARMS.

1. THE CHARM OF THE SEVEN SLEEPERS.

THE charm, of which an illustration is here annexed, is in the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow.¹ It is a disk of bronze $\frac{3}{16}$ " (nearly 6 mm.) in thickness, having a maximum length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ " (9 cm.) and a maximum breadth of $3\frac{1}{8}$ " (8 cm.). The engraving of the characters is reversed, so that it would seem to be a stamp or matrix for the stamping or printing of charms. The doubtful phrase at the top may be read *yā mannān*. The remainder of the inscription presents no special difficulty. It commences with the *bismillāh*, in the outermost of the three circles, followed by the verse of the judgment-seat, *āyat el-kursī* (Qoran, ii. 256), with the first and last words omitted. In the third circle are the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog, and, finally, in the centre, the last words of Sura xxiii. 14. Qoran ii. 256 is often used in charms (see pp. 95 and 101). The omission of the last word, and perhaps of the first, may be an intentional imperfection introduced as a special protection against envy and the danger to which all precious things are exposed.²

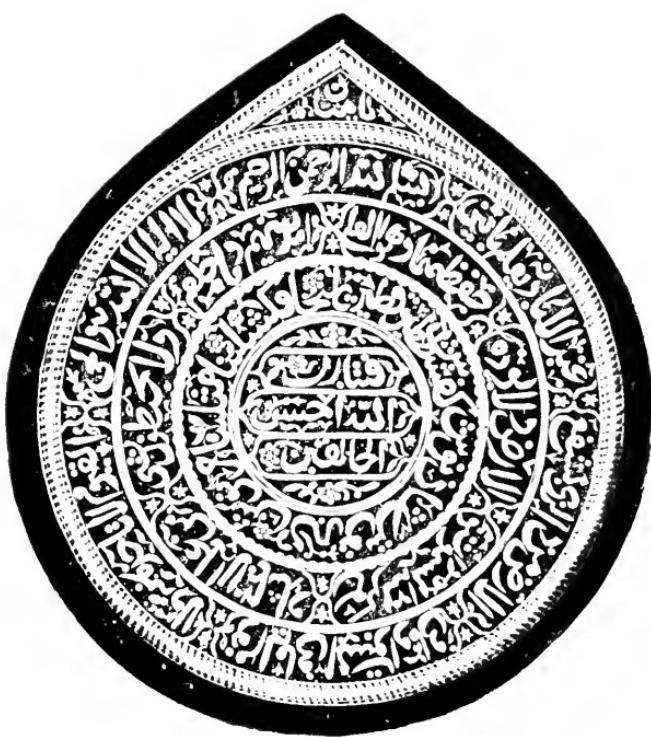
The following is a complete translation of the charm :

Most Bountiful !

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. There is no god but God, the living and the abiding One. Slumber does not seize Him nor sleep. What is in heaven and what is on the earth belongs to Him. Who can intercede with Him except by

¹ The thanks of the writer are due to the Curator, Mr. J. M'Naught Campbell, for permission to reproduce the charm and for allowing every facility of access to it.

² This explanation was supported by several members of the Glasgow University Oriental Society at a meeting where the charm was shown.



His permission ? He knoweth what is present and what is past and men do not understand what He knows except as He pleases. His judgment-seat (authority) is as wide as the heaven and the earth and the guardianship of them does not overburden Him, for He is the high [and the potent] One. Yamlīkhā, Makshalīnā, Mathlīnā, Marnūsh, Dabarnūsh, Shādhnūsh, Kafashṭātyūsh, Qaṭmīr. Blessed, therefore, be God, the best of creators.

The forms of the names of the Seven Sleepers as given in this charm are substantially those of several previously published charms in which the names also occur. This will be seen from the following table. It has not been observed by recent writers, who refer to Reinaud's *Description*, ii. 59, that the names there printed do not correspond to those of the facsimile in planche i. 25. The list substitutes *s* for *sh* in several names and reads Maksilmīnā, Messilyya (*sic*) and Sabārnūs for the clear forms of the facsimile, Maksalīnyā, Masālīnyā, and Shāznūsh (or, Shādhnūsh). Possibly the names of the list were taken by M. Reinaud from another source than the engraved stone which he describes.

1. Yamlikhā,	Makshalīnā,	Mathlīnā,	Marnūsh,	Dabarnūsh,	Shādhnūsh,	Kafashṭātyūsh.
2. „	Maksalīnyā,	Masālīnyā,	„	„	Shāznūsh (or, Shādhnūsh),	„
3. „	Makshalīnā (? Makshalīnā),	Masīlnā,	„	„	Shādhnūsh,	„
4. Yamlikhā (or, Tamlikhā),	Makthalīnā,	Mathlīnā,	„	„	„	„
5. Yamlikhā,	Makshalīnā,	„	„	„	Shādnūsh,	„
6. Yamlikhā,	Makthalīnā,	„	„	„	Shādhnūsh,	„
7. „	Makthalīnā,	„	„	„	Sāznūsh,	„

1. The forms of the Glasgow talisman, described on page 84.
2. From J. T. Reinaud, *Description des monumens musulmans*, 1828, planche i. 25. Cf. tome ii. p. 59 f.
3. Reinaud, *op. cit.* planche i. 26. The names in the original are written without diacritical points, which are, therefore, supplied in the above transliteration. M. Reinaud has given no reading of these forms.
4. From the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. 26 (1912), p. 267, in an article by D. B. Macdonald entitled 'Description of a silver amulet.' The editor reads Shādbūsh for Shādh-nūsh, but it may be supposed that the dots below the word belong to the *f* of Kafashṭātyūsh and to the

dh of Shādhnūsh, and that the dot of the *n* has been omitted.

5. *Der Islam*, vol. v. (1914), p. 377 (Fig. 4). The original is a paper amulet which J. G. Wetzstein brought from Damascus, and the illustration is part of an article by S. Seligmann (*Das Siebenschläfer-Amulett*, pp. 370-388). Seligmann reproduces the illustrations given by Reinaud and D. B. Macdonald, and adds three new specimens (Figs. 4, 6, and 7). He supplies no readings of the names in Fig. 4.
6. *Der Islam*, v. 384 (Fig. 6), a lithographed amulet from Kazan, partly Tatar, partly Arabic.
7. *Der Islam*, v. 387 (Fig. 7), also a lithographed amulet from Kazan. This amulet alone gives the vowels fully. They are as printed above, except that Mithlīnā appears for Mathlīnā.

The slight variations in the forms of the names, as given in the table, do not demand much comment. Most of them obviously originate in scribal errors (*e.g.* Yamlīhā or Tamlihā for Yamlikhā). Shāznūsh is presumably a phonetic variant of Shādhnūsh, and so perhaps is Maslīnā for Mathlīnā. The original form of Makshalīnā and Makthalīnā is less easily determined. Perhaps preference should be given to the former.

In the *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii. 354 (Rich), and iv. 163 (Von Hammer), reference is made to other talismans having the names of the Seven Sleepers engraved upon them. Von Hammer supplies a list of the names in transliteration and in Arabic letters, and Rich a transliteration only. Possibly both writers depend on the same original. As no facsimiles are given, their variations have not been included in the above table.

A point of interest in the use of the names of the Seven Sleepers in charms is that the order of the names is probably always the same. The first, sixth, and seventh of the lists given above and the lists of the Fundgruben all agree in this respect. The third, fourth, and fifth of the specimens here examined weave the names into a remarkable interlacing pattern, which is identical in each case. The beginning of this pattern is determined by the position of the name Qaṭmīr, which invariably concludes the lists. Yamlikhā is, therefore, the first name in the pattern. Marnūsh,

Dabarnūsh, and the last syllable of Shādhnūsh are placed in an inner circle, but are probably to be read in the third, fourth and fifth places, between Mathlinā and Kafashṭaṭyūsh, which are in the outer circle. The peculiar division of Shādhnūsh, between the outer and the inner circles, may then be explained as an indication that the words of the inner circle are to be read in the gap of the outer circle, made by the intrusion of the first syllable of Shādhnūsh. The second specimen has an ambiguous arrangement of its own, but here, again, the position of Qaṭnīr gives a clue to the starting-point and to the intention of the engraver. The names are set in pairs in a ring round the stone, and the upper name in each pair is to be read after the lower name.

The mere writing of potent names, such as those of the Seven Sleepers, is supposed to ward off the attack of evil spirits, and gives the bearer of a talisman a certain command over the beings whose names are written on it. It is in this way that spirits are the slaves of the rings upon which their names or symbols are inscribed. The names of angels and demons and saints, and the names of God and of Mohammed and of the first four caliphs, alike exercise magical power. All the charms described in this article have more than the names of the Seven Sleepers on them to give them virtue. In the centre of Reinaud's first example (planche i. 25) are the words *mā shā allāh*, God's will is done. In the centre of the second (planche i. 26) Reinaud reads Ismā'īl, which he understands to be the name of the owner of the charm. It is more likely to be a magic name (? *Isrāfil*). D. B. Macdonald's specimen has at the top an invocation, *ya ḥāfiẓ*, O Protector, and in the centre the word Allah. On the back are the names of the four archangels and a magic square. Wetzstein's example (Seligmann, fig. 4) has in the centre the invocation *yā fattāh*, O Dispenser, written twice, each phrase facing the other, that on the left being written backwards (*i.e.* from left to right). The two amulets from Kazan contain much more than the names of the Seven Sleepers. The Glasgow talisman is intermediate in this respect, between them and the others.

The story of the Seven Sleepers, derived from a Christian original and referred to in the Quran (Sura xviii.), is often related by Arabic authors. The printed texts of these authors give the

names of the sleepers in a perplexing variety of forms, which have still to be submitted to a critical examination. A preliminary survey of six writers yields, however, some suggestive results. Two of these, Zamakhshari († 1143)¹ and Baiðawi († 1286),² give only six names, but in the talismanic order and without any special variations in the forms of the names. They appear as follows :

Yamlīkhā,	Makshalīnyā,	Mashlīnyā,	Marnūsh,	Dabarnūsh,	Shādhnūsh (? Shādānūsh),
"	"	Mashlīnyā,	"	"	Shādhauñsh.

The following table shows a list of a different type, common to the remaining four writers.³ Its chief characteristics are (1) that the name Makshalīnā (Maksilmīnā, etc.) stands before Yamlikhā, (2) that the name Mathlinā does not appear in any form, (3) that the series Marnūsh, Dabarnūsh and Shādhnūsh is wanting. The arrangement in columns supplies a provisional identification of the divergent names. Where the order of the original has been changed, in consequence, it is shown by the use of superior numbers.

1. Maksilmīnā & Mahṣilmīnā, ⁹	Yamlīkhā,	Marṭūn,	Kasūtūnus,	Birānus,	Rāsmūnus,	Baṭūnus,	Qālūn
2. Maksilmīnyā & Makhsilmīnyā, ⁹	"	"	Kastūmūs, ⁵	Nīrūyus, ⁴	Dīnmūs,	Rītūfūs,	"
3. Maksilmīnā,	Tamlīkhā,	Marṭūnus,	Kashfūnush,	Takaryūs, ⁶ (V.L. Bakaryūs),	Dāsyūs, ⁵	Baṭyūnus,	"
4.	"	Yamlīkhā,	"	Kafashṭātiyūnus, ⁷ Sāribiyūnus,	Dawā-anwānus, (V.L. Dhū-nawānus),	Bamīnūnus, ⁴	"

The type represented in this table is also that of the chaos of variants given by the printed editions of the Qamus. A critical treatment of the list in this form would require a consideration of these variants and of other sources also. The following remarks are merely introductory to such a study. Qālūs (? Greek *καλός*) is the name of the dog. In the two cases where nine names are given, the ninth is obviously a textual variant of the first. Qazwini alone gives a close approximation to the seventh name of the talismanic list (col 4). This form is also (practically) that of the Qamus. Sāribiyūnus (=Serapion) may supply the original

¹ Zamakhshari (edit. W. N. Lees, 1856), i. 796.

² Baiðawi (edit. O. H. Fleischer, 1846-48), i. 559.

³ Tabari (edit. J. de Goeje), i. 777 ; Ibn el-athir (Chronicon, edit. Tornberg), i. 257 f. ; Tha'ālibi (*Qisāṣ al-anbiya*, Cairo edition, 1873), p. 371 f. ; Qazwini (edit. Wüstenfeld), i. 161.

of the form Bīrūnus. It is supported by the Qamus. Regarding Martūs, see below.

In Christian texts (Greek, Latin and Syriac) the names of the Seven Sleepers are usually given as Maximilianus (or Maximianus), Iamblichus (or Malchus), Martinus (or Martinianus), Dionysius, Constantinus (or Exacustodianus), Johannes, Antoninus (or Antonius or Serapion).¹ It is obvious at a glance that there is a great resemblance between this list and that of the table on page 88. The first three names in both agree and stand in the same order. Constantinus and Serapion are also represented with sufficient clearness. This leaves obscure only the originals of columns 6 and 7 in the table. Evidently Johannes has no parallel in the Arabic lists. But Dionysius might be the original of column 6 (cf. Nawānis, etc., in the Qamus), and Antoninus in Arabic letters is not impossibly remote from the forms of column 7 (Batyūnus, etc.; cf. Qamus).

These resemblances do not wholly determine the origin of the names of the sleepers as used on talismans. Only the first, second and last names are accounted for. It is tempting to regard Martūnus (and Martūs) as the original of Marnūsh in spite of the invariable spelling with t (not t). But Marnūsh cannot be separated from Dabarnūsh and Shādhnuš. The ending *ush*, which is one of the common endings of the names of evil spirits,² may come from the Greek case ending *os*. But this does not prove in every particular case a Greek origin of the name in which it occurs. Against the suggestion that Dabarnūsh is a transformation of the Latin Tiberianus,³ it may be observed that Tiberianus is not one of the names of the sleepers in the Latin and Greek lists. Without further evidence the present writer does not venture to speculate regarding the origin of the four names Mathlīnā, Marnūsh, Dabarnūsh and Shādhnuš.⁴

¹ For these names and for a general treatment of the story of the Seven Sleepers, see Michael Huber, *Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern*, Leipzig, 1910.

² Other examples from Ed. Doutté (*Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1909) are 'Abrūsh, 'Amrūsh, Dehmūsh, Demrūsh, Menṭūsh, Mitūsh.

³ *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii. 354 and iv. 163.

⁴ In *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. xxvi. (1909), two codices of El-kisai, containing lists of the Seven Sleepers, are translated. In one (p. 504) the names resemble those of the talismans; in the other (p. 530) only Yamlikhā

2. THE CHARM OF MURJĀNĒ (MORGANA).

The translation that follows is based upon two paper rolls purchased in Damascus in 1897. Textual errors in the MSS. and small variants between them have not been noted. Separate translations of both have been given at three points where there is a considerable divergence between the rolls. The positions of the magic squares and magic signs of the two MSS., which are not the same, are also separately marked. The text of the charm, and the circles, squares and lozenges within which it is contained, are written in coloured inks. The colours used do not seem to have any special significance. They are black, orange, purple, magenta and green in the first roll (*A*), and black, orange, violet, blue and magenta, with some purple and yellow, in the second (*B*). The rolls are almost identical in size, being 9' 10" long (2.99 m.) and 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad (9.5 cm.).¹

The charm of Murjānē circulates in North Africa, Egypt and Syria, and probably elsewhere. There is a narrative portion, which seems to be substantially the same in all the versions. But the remainder, which is the charm proper, assumes widely different forms in the current copies. In other words, there does not appear to be any fixed tradition regarding the substance of the charm. At any rate the claim of any one form to be considered the original or proper form of the charm must be based upon more material than the present writer has seen.²

and Maksalminā obviously agree with the names of the lists reviewed in this article—the others being Marchalūs, 'Arachlūs, Farālis and Fatālis, making six names in all. In a facsimile in Canaan's *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914, Tafel vi.) the names resemble those of Qazwini's list, with variations. The names of the sleepers are used on charms in India also (cf. Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 1832, plate vi. and p. 340).

¹ A becomes very slightly broader towards the end.

² Doutté (*Magie et Religion*, pp. 136-139) translates the adjuration or prayer of his copy. It is quite unlike what follows below, except that it includes the names of the suras of the Quran. Depont and Coppolani (*Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897, p. 140) supply a third version. For the narrative portion, see Doutté, p. 153, and Canaan (*Aberglaube*), p. 418 f.

TRANSLATION.

This is the amulet of the washer of the dead, known as the charm of Murjāne.¹

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds and the blessing and peace of God be upon our master Mohammed and upon his family and friends.

There is a tradition derived from the Shaikh Nūr ed-dīn of Ispahān,² derived from the king Hārūn³ er-rashīd, the fifth of the 'Abbasites, to the effect that he had three female slaves, surpassing in beauty and elegance and stature and radiance and symmetry. One was called Feast of hearts (Qūt el-qulūb), the second Joy of the age (Buhjet ez-zemān) and the third Betrayer (Ghādir); and the third was the most lovely both for elegance and perfection. He had also an ugly black slave, whose name was Murjānē, the cook. One day she went out to the country for pleasure and she found a dead mare and round it dogs and birds and wild beasts, which were unable to touch it. Murjānē was greatly astonished at this and approached the mare and found in its throat this excellent and blessed charm, and she took it and walked away from the mare, and when she looked

¹ Here follows, in both A and B, the checked pattern described on p. 99.

² This personage appears elsewhere, also, as transmitting a tradition from Hārūn er-rashīd (Doutté, p. 140).

³ At this point B begins two lines of letters and magic signs, which form a border to the text on the margins for about sixteen inches (40 centimetres). In transliteration, to be read from right to left, they are as follows :

ك ه ز ، س ك ف ز ت ق ع ، س ب ق ع ، س ب ق ع ل ز
 ق س ' م ه ' ' ' ق س ' م ه   ت ي ف ك س ' ي ه ك

The apostrophes, on the left, represent a sign that may be read as *hemza*. The magic signs are reversed, as here printed, and the letters are not joined to one another. س, in the first group of letters of what is here printed as the upper line, is joined in the MS. to the following group (ك ف ز ت). It is written in green ink, like ك ف ز ت, instead of in the orange of its own group. This mistake suggests that the writer may not have understood the proper arrangement of the letters. Regarding the origin and meaning of the groups, see p. 97.

back she discovered that the dogs and birds and beasts had already eaten it on the spot.¹ Then she returned as usual to the kitchen ; and she had scarcely settled herself there when the king also came into the kitchen. At once he observed the beauty of her appearance and said, whose slave is this ? Having been told that she was his own slave, Murjānē the cook, he said, a girl like this is not kept in the kitchen ; take her to the bath and bring her into the palace and dress her in the finest raiment. To which they answered, to hear is to obey in the case of God and in thy case O prince of believers.

So she dwelt with him in a splendid mansion, finer than those of Ghādir and the others. And all of them were jealous² of her and envied her and said, what does this king mean by preferring this black slave girl to Ghādir and the others, who are white and in the flower of their age (*muhādā*) ? But their complaint accomplished nothing. After a time Murjānē fell seriously ill and the king sent for the doctors and physicians and none of them were able to devise any cure for her. Then, when Murjānē had departed to the mercy of God most high and none dared³ tell the king of her death because of his love for her, his uncle, the Shaikh Mōhammed el-mansūr, being of illustrious position, reverend and dignified, entered his presence and saluted him and received his salutation in return and then said, my son, God will increase your reward,⁴ ' you have in the prophet of God a good example ' (Sura xxxiii. 21), the way to honour the dead is to prepare them for burial and to inter them. Then the king wept⁵ bitterly and sent at once for the washer of the dead. When she came he said, wash Murjānē and do it well and when

¹ This story of the finding of the charm has parallels elsewhere (Doutté, p. 153, note 2).

² Here A introduces two magic squares, joined in one pattern. See p. 98.

³ At this point in B there commences a third series of circles, within which the text is written. In four of them segments, twelve in all, are marked off, each containing a letter. The letters are probably to be read in this order and way : k h y ' k f y t h m ' s (reading here from left to right). See further, p. 98.

⁴ A phrase of consolation addressed to bereaved persons.

⁵ At this point B inserts three magic squares joined into one pattern. See p. 98.

you have finished send for me that I may bid her farewell. She answered him, to hear is to obey in the case of God and in thy case O prince of believers.

Then the washer of the dead went down to where Murjānē was and took off her clothes and loosened her hair and there she found this excellent and blessed charm and she took it and hid it, without anyone of those present seeing her. And when she had washed Murjānē carefully she sent for the king, who came. And when he lifted the covering from Murjānē's face he saw that she was black and he said, how is it that I see that the girl has become black ? The bystanders answered that perhaps she was suffering for her sins and so he ordered her to be buried. Just at this moment his attention was attracted to the washer of the dead and he said to her, woman have you a husband ? She replied, no my lord, he died some time ago ; and then he said to her, you washer of the dead will you marry me ? She answered, by God, my lord, do not mock me, to which he said, nay, by the grave (*turbat*) of my father and of my noble ancestors, what I say is truly meant. Then he summoned the qadi and the witnesses and wrote his marriage contract with her ; and she lived with him in a splendid mansion and she bore to him two sons and they grew up and they learned the Quran. In course of time their father departed to the mercy of God most high. And when the washer of the dead had witnessed his death she sent to the teacher of her sons, the Shaikh Nūr ed-dīn and she gave the excellent and blessed charm to him and said to him, take this excellent charm, O Shaikh Nūr ed-dīn, and write two copies for my sons and keep another for yourself, for, by God most gracious, my good fortune has been due to its blessing since I found it in the head of Murjānē the cook.

Afterwards the story spread through all countries and territories and men used to come to the Shaikh because of this excellent charm so that finally its price reached 1000 dinars. And it is beneficial, with the permission of God most high, for (winning) love and affection and kindness, for appearances before rulers, for gaining hearts, for the acquisition of sustenance and for tying the tongues of enemies and the envious,¹

¹ i.e. restraining them from slander ; cf. Doutté, p. 247 f.

A

for security from pains in the head & the hands & the heart & the back & the joints & the knees and for security from vapours (*aryāḥ*)¹ & illnesses and diseases and sufferings & pains & enchantments & devices & fear and for walking (safely) by night and day and for journeying on land and sea & to repulse pens & the attack of magic arts & to repulse enemies & the envious & to repulse all injury & to secure all you wish & it is beneficial to the girl hindered from marriage (*el-bint el-bā’ira*) & to the woman tied up² from conception & for all that you desire, with the permission of God most high.

B

and for walking (safely) by night and day and for journeying by land and sea and for bringing to nought magic and the attack of pens³ (*fakk es-sihr wa-jara el-aqlām*) and it is beneficial for the warding off of illnesses & diseases & sufferings & pains & vapours & persecuting demons (*tawābi‘*) and storm fiends (*zawābi‘*) & familiar spirits (*quranā*) & the demon that attacks children (*umm es-ṣubyān*), & it is a protection, with the permission of God most high,⁴ from all the dangers ('auāriḍ) that hurt the sons of Adam & the daughters of Eve, with the permission of God most high,⁴ and it is beneficial for the attainment of all you desire, with the permission of God most high.

And this excellent charm demands pure intention and resolute faith

B

for it has many properties, like the dividing sword and the flashing lightning, and the reader and the hearer must not scoff at it, and as for those who disbelieve it, God is a refuge ('iyādh) from that.

¹ Here A inserts four magic squares forming one continuous pattern. See p. 98.

² i.e. bewitched.

³ i.e. written charms (cf. Dozy, *sub voce*).

⁴ Possibly one of these phrases is erroneously inserted.

And by this (same) excellent and blessed charm, may we have profit (*nafa'na bihi*). Amen.

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. ' When thou art resolved then put thy trust in God, for God loveth those who put their trust in Him ' (Sura iii. 153). ' God, there is no god but He, the living and the abiding One. Slumber does not seize Him nor sleep. What is in heaven and what is on the earth belongs to Him. Who can intercede with Him, except by His permission ? He knoweth what is present and what is past and men do not understand what He knows, except as He pleases. His judgment-seat (authority) is as wide as the heaven and the earth and the guardianship of them does not overburden Him, for He is the high and the potent One ' (Sura ii. 256).

O God, guard the bearer of this writing of mine, whether male or female, by Thy guardianship and protection, from evil done by any of Thy creatures. (O God ! O God ! O God !)¹ O God turn aside from the bearer of this writing of mine the wickedness of the wicked and the deceit of the dissolute and the snare (*makar*) by night and day.

A

O God turn aside from the bearer of this writing of mine any evil that he may fear or dread from men or jinn or the spirits of the dead (*hawām*²) or from birds and beasts and illnesses & diseases & sufferings & pains & vapours and all hurtful accidents ('awārid) & make easy to the bearer of this writing of mine all he may wish of good in this world and the next, according to his liking and desire, in virtue of (the holy scripture) ' God has written, indeed I will surely conquer, I

B

O God set the bearer of this writing of mine in the hearts of men as sugar and in their eyes as a jewel and may everyone who sees him behold him with an eye of kindness and satisfaction (*ra'fa wa-rāḥa*) and say to him ' approach and fear not, because thou art one of those who are secure ' (Sura xxviii. 31), ' fear not, thou art saved from the doers of wrong ' (Sura xxviii. 25). O God make everyone that treats him as loved, honoured and esteemed, obedient to him a thousand

¹ The words in brackets are in A only.

² Lit. owls in which these spirits live. See p. 100.

A

and my apostles. Behold God is strong and mighty' (Sura lviii. 21).  O God, grant him abundant fortune and long life and much provision. O God, grant him the best of this world and the next.

B

thousand times. There is no efficiency nor strength except in God, who is High and Potent. O God turn from the bearer of this writing of mine, whether man or woman, illnesses & diseases & sufferings & pains & vapours & persecuting demons & storm fiends & familiar spirits & all enchantments & devices & pens which attack him, in virtue of (the holy scripture) 'God has written, indeed I will surely conquer, I and my apostles. Behold God is strong and mighty' (Sura lviii. 21). O Lord, O Lord, O Lord, bestow on the bearer of this my writing his desire in the highest degree and the most secure fashion ('ala ahsan hāl wa-arkan bāl).

I leave it to Thee ('alaika), O Lord, and I ask Thee in virtue of the noble Opening Sura, I leave it to Thee, O Lord, and I ask Thee in virtue of the Sura of the Cow¹ . . . and the Sura of pure Worship and the Sura of the Daybreak, and the Sura of Men,

A

that you grant the bearer of this writing of mine what he desires of every kind of good. O Lord thou art able to accomplish everything. O Lord

B

and in virtue of every possessor of influence with Thee, O Lord of Creation, that you grant the bearer of this writing of mine his desire in the highest

¹ All the Suras of the Qoran are here enumerated in order. Most of this part of the charm is contained within a border, made by two ruled lines, which extends along the whole length of both margins of the roll.

A

grant him abundant fortune and long life and much provision and may everyone who sees him behold him with an eye of kindness and favour and generosity and may his wants be fulfilled according to his liking and desire, in virtue of these noble signs (*āyāt*) and potent names.¹

B

degree, whether man or woman. Glory and praise be to God. There is no god but God. God is the greatest. There is no efficiency nor strength except in God, who is High and Potent.

The construction of this charm is quite representative. After a preliminary narrative it begins formally with quotations from the Quran, which are followed by an invocation and then by a prayer, supported by adjurations. The adjurations are principally an appeal to the virtues of the Suras of the Quran. In A there is a final appeal to the virtue of five magic signs, which are supposed to include and so represent the greatest name of God. Although the narrative is preliminary, in a sense, to the charm proper, it occupies the greater part of the roll, and no hard and fast distinction can be drawn between the efficacy of the two parts. B associates magic signs and mystery letters with the narrative portion alone, and both A and B write their magic squares in this earlier part. The efficacy of narrative in a charm is well illustrated by the spell against the evil eye given on page 104 f.²

¹ The magic signs employed are taken from a well-known group of seven, which are reproduced and discussed on pp. 112-14. A has the pentagram at one point by itself and writes five of the seven together at the very end of his MS., omitting there the second and fifth of the series. B uses only three of these signs, the first, fourth and sixth of the series, at a point near the beginning of the charm, which has been shown in the translation.

B also uses as magic signs two sets of the *hurūf mutashābiha*, or mystery letters, which are found in the Quran. They are taken from the beginning of Suras xix. (k h y ' s)³ and xlvi.

¹ Here follow five magic signs. See below.

² Compare also Doutté, p. 152.

³ Read here from left to right.

(ḥ m ' s q), and are much employed in magic squares (cf. p. 111). At one point they are repeated several times, and are arranged in two lines back to back, as shown on p. 91. Two other sets of letters, which may be read k f y t and ḥ m y t, are there combined with the mystery letters. If they have been correctly read, they also occur in this same connection in a magic design given by El-būnī.¹ The group k f y t is repeated, with some of the mystery letters, at a later point in B (p. 92, note 3), and occurs also in another charm (C), which is translated on page 101 f. The present writer has not seen anywhere an explanation of these four-letter groups. If read connectedly as verbal forms they might mean 'may it suffice' and 'may it protect' (or, 'may it defend' and 'may it protect'). At one point B uses only the first four letters of each of the five-letter mystery groups along with the four-letter group k f y t. At another point he apparently uses five hemzas as an alternative to a group of mystery letters.

The magic squares used in A and B are of the same dimensions and character. They are squares of nine compartments, although several of them have been joined together so as to produce a continuous checkered pattern. In B three squares are joined in this manner at one point, and in A two at one point and four at another. B's three squares and A's two are included in the main group of four, so that there are only four different squares to be considered. The compartments of the squares are filled with letters which, when replaced by the corresponding figures, appear as follows :

4	200	6	4	40	90	4	8	1	30	4	90
200	6	4	40	90	4	8	1	4	4	90	30
6	4	200	90	4	40	1	4	8	90	30	4

In all these squares the figures follow the same simple arrangement. They form diagonal patterns, running downwards from right to left. Seven of the eight rows of figures in each square, when added up, produce the same total. The squares are, therefore, what may be called imperfect pattern squares (see p. 111). The second and third squares are based, respectively, upon the divine names şamad (Eternal) and aħad (Unique) in the manner described on p. 108 f. In the first and fourth squares the topmost

¹ Sharṣ el-ma‘ārif (Bombay, A.H. 1295), ii. 79.

rows of letters are w r d and s d l respectively. The writer does not know what significance should be attached to these groups of letters.

Besides these magic squares both A and B have a checked pattern at the same point near the beginning. There are three compartments or checks in each horizontal row, having the figures 7, 8, 7 inscribed in them. There are 21 compartments in A's pattern and 18 in B's. A has written the figures 8, 7, 8 in one row, presumably by accident.

The quotations from the Quran, used for the sake of their efficacy, are as follows : ii. 256 (*āyat el-kursī*), iii. 153, xxviii. 25 (in B only), xxviii. 31 (B only), lviii. 21.

The words used for evil spirits in these charms are an interesting feature of their vocabulary. Three words from C (pp. 100-103), in addition to the seven or eight used by A and B, are included here for the sake of completeness. Several of the evil spirits named are evidently personifications of diseases or of noxious winds. For example, the *zawābi'* (sing. *zauba'*), as the name implies, are storm-fiends. The *aryāḥ* (sing. *rīḥ*), for whom the rendering vapours has been adopted, are elsewhere qualified by distinguishing adjectives. For example, *er-rīḥ el-asfar* (known also as *el-hawa el-asfar*) is cholera. Canaan (p. 35) notes that the diseases caused or personified by the *aryāḥ* are such as rheumatism and neuralgia, which are recurrent and attack various parts of the body in succession. The *tawābi'* (sing. *tābi'a*), the pursuers or persecutors, are said to attack one child after another in the same family (Doutté, p. 116). Such a spirit is sometimes identified with *Umm es-subyān* (Doutté) and even with the *Qarīna* (Canaan). *Umm es-ṣubyān*, as the name implies, is the enemy of children, she who takes possession of them. With the form of the name may be compared that of *Abū rikab*, he who attacks or takes possession of the knees, i.e. influenza. *Umm es-ṣubyān* causes, especially, convulsions. In the charm of the seven knots, or agreements ('uhūd), as translated by Doutté (p. 112 ff.), a description is given of her special activities. She attacks the fertility of women and men, as well as the health of children. The *quranā* (sing. *qarīna*) are the familiar spirits, doubles they may almost be called, of which every man and woman has one (Canaan). Their hostility to women and children

is most frequently described.¹ The *hawām* (sing. *hāma*), named by A, are birds like owls in which the spirits of the dead take up their abodes. The *hāma* of a murdered person cries out for vengeance until his death is avenged. This belief goes back to pre-Islamic times. C alone mentions the *rākib*, evidently as a kind of spirit. The word may be equivalent to nightmare, although possibly it has a sense similar to *tābi'a*, pursuer. The writer has not seen any reference to it elsewhere. The word '*awārid*', which has been translated accidents, may possibly have the sense of ghosts or spirits (see Dozy, *sub voce*). The remaining words are *jinn*, *shaiṭān* and *mārid*, which occur commonly in Arabic literature. *Jinn* is used as a general term for spirits. Canaan distinguishes *shaiṭān* (plur. *shayāṭīn*) as a dweller in graveyards or in houses. *Mārid* (plur. *marada*) designates especially the rebel angels, who are mentioned in the Quran.

3. A DAMASCUS CHARM ROLL.

The following charm is from a paper roll purchased in Damascus at the same time as the rolls A and B already described. It consists of four separate strips pasted together, and is 4' 8" (1·44 m.) in length and about 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (7·2 cm.) in breadth. The coloured inks used are black, orange, violet, blue and green. The margins are marked off by two parallel blue lines, within which the text is contained. Sometimes the lines of writing are further bounded by horizontal lines in violet ink. At one point the text stands within a series of fifteen successive circles (each 3·4 cm. in diameter). Near the beginning is a checkered pattern of 18 compartments, and just after the last circle, with one intervening line of writing, is a second checkered pattern of 27 compartments. This last is formed by the union of three magic squares.

The text (C) resembles that of A and B after deduction of the story of Murjānē. The initial description of the usefulness of the charm has a close verbal resemblance to B especially. The three magic squares of B are those of C also. The special features of the roll receive comment below.

¹ A full account of Moslem beliefs regarding the Qarina is given by S. M. Zwemer in the *Moslem Review*, vol. 6, pp. 360-374 (Oct. 1916).

TRANSLATION.

Ask from God for the sake of the Beloved ;¹ victory and speedy conquest (*naṣr wa-fath qarīb*) are from God.²

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, and the blessing and peace of God be upon our master Moḥammed^{3a} and upon his family and friends.

Now to proceed : this amulet is potent in quality ('azīm *esh-shān*) and distinguished for its power and its proved worth (*jeṭīl el-qadr wa-l-burhān*) and it is a charm (*i.e.* guard) and protection against every rebel angel (*mārid*) and men and jinn and satans³ and it is beneficial by the permission of God most high for (winning) love and affection and kindness, for appearance before rulers, for gaining hearts, for the acquisition of sustenance and for tying the tongues of enemies and the envious,⁴ for security from pain in the head and the hands and the heart and the back and the joints and the knees⁵ and from the pain of night-mares (*waja' er-rākib*) and for safety from the (evil) eye and look and thought and from trembling and terror and fear and fright, and from the pursuing demon (*tābi'a*) and the familiar spirit (*qarīna*) and the Enemy of children (*umm eṣ-ṣubyān*) and for safety, with the permission of God most high,⁶ from the hurtfulness of all illnesses and diseases and sufferings and vapours and all the accidents that cause hurt to the sons of Adam and the daughters of Eve.⁷

⁸ And this excellent charm demands pure intention and resolute faith ; and by this (same) excellent charm may we have profit. Amen.

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. ' God, there is no god but He, the living and the abiding One. Slumber does not seize Him nor sleep. What is in heaven⁹ and what is

¹ *i.e.* Moḥammed.

² Here follows a checkered pattern of 18 squares (see p. 102).

^{3a} The first word of the first circle.

³⁻⁴ Agrees with the text of A and B (see p. 93).

⁴⁻⁵ Agrees with A (p. 94).

⁶⁻⁷ Similar to part of B (p. 94).

⁸⁻¹⁰ Similar to part of A (p. 94 f.) and less closely to B.

⁹ Here three magic squares are inserted, as in B (p. 98).

on the earth belongs to Him. Who can intercede with Him, except by His permission ? He knoweth what is present and what is past and men do not understand what He knows, except as He pleases. His judgment-seat is as wide as the heaven and the earth and the guardianship of them does not overburden Him, for He is the high and potent One' (Sura ii. 256).

O God, guard the bearer of this my writing by Thy guardianship and protection from any evil done by Thy creatures.¹⁰ Truly Thou art powerful over all. 'God is gracious to His servants ; He makes provision for whom He pleases and He is the strong and mighty One' (Sura xlvi. 18). Do Thou protect the bearer of this writing of mine, O living and abiding One, who never dies, and do Thou drive evil away from him a thousand thousand times. There is no efficiency nor strength except in God, the high and potent One.

The signature of G O D, THE MERCIFUL AND COMPASSIONATE.

Lahaṭhaṭil, Mahaṭhaṭil, Qahaṭhaṭil, Fahāṭhaṭil, Nahāṭhaṭil, Jahāṭhaṭil, Lalhaṭhaṭil, lmqfnjl.¹

The signature of G O D, THE MERCIFUL AND COMPASSIONATE.

k h y ' s² k f y t²

The signature of G O D, THE MERCIFUL AND COMPASSIONATE.

O L I V I N G O N E ! O A B I D I N G O N E ! O G O D !
And may the blessing and peace of God be upon our master
Mohammed and his family and his friends.³

Almost at the beginning of the roll, before the *bismillāh*, there is a checkered pattern of 18 compartments, similar to those of A and B. But instead of its being filled with numerals, the word *muhūt* is written in every compartment. This word is a name or epithet of God used in magic squares (see p. 109, n. 4). All the other magic names, signs, squares and letters are placed within the charm proper. They are inserted without any reference in the text to their presence there.

¹ The initial letters of the preceding words, written perhaps as a safeguard against textual error.

² To be read from left to right.

³ Here follow four magic signs. See below.

The magic signs employed are the first, third, fourth and sixth of the 'seven seals' (pp. 112-14), and stand at the very end. The pentagram is placed above the other three, which are arranged in a line, with *m* in the centre, the 'ladder' to the right and *h* to the left. The mystery letters are again those of Sura xix. associated with the group *kfyt* (see p. 98). The three numerical squares are identical with those of B and have been described on p. 98. The Qoranic passages quoted are ii. 256 and xlvi. 18.

A special feature of C, as compared with A and B, is its writing of certain words in disjoined letters. The phrase *Allāh er-rahmān er-rahīm* is so written three times, and seems then to be described as the signature (*rasm*) of God. It is unlikely that the reference is to the names and letters and signs that follow the expression. The final invocation *yā hāi, yā qayyūm, yā allāh* is also written with disjoined letters.¹

The chief distinguishing feature of the charm contained in C is the enumeration, towards the end, of the names of seven spirits. They all end in *ṭil*, like *Jibrāil* and *'Azrāil*, the Arabic forms of the Hebrew Gabriel and Azrael. The termination shows that they are good spirits. The construction of the names is clear, in a measure. The initial letters l, m, q, f, n, j, l have been used, in that order, along with certain common elements, to build up the names. They alone differentiate the names from one another. But the present writer does not know why these letters should have been chosen² nor from what source the supplementary syllables *haṭhaṭ* are taken.

The same names appear, in a corrupt form, in the middle of a list of spirits given by Doutté (p. 139) from his text of the charm of *Murjānē*. There is a difference in the order of the names and in their vocalisation. Presumably Doutté has himself supplied the vowels, as the present editor has done. Otherwise the variations between the lists seem to be due to corruptions in Doutté's text.³

¹ The English translation of the words so written is printed above in capitals.

² Their numerical value is 333, and the last five in order are a possible transliteration of the word *Evangel*, assuming *q* to be pronounced as the letter *alif*.

³ Instead of Q in *Qahaṭhaṭil*, Doutté's list has K. Two names commencing with F are given. In one case N should be substituted for F. The beginning of the name *Lahaṭhaṭil* has been lost (by homoioteleuton ?) so that only the syllable *Til* remains to represent it.

4. SOLOMON AND THE EVIL EYE.¹

The Arabic text of the following spell was written down for the translator in Damascus in the winter of 1896-97, and was then said to be in use by Moslems there. The mere recitation of the story in the presence of one bewitched might be supposed to render Solomon's power over the evil eye again operative and thus to effect a cure. Incense might be used at the same time and rites performed, such as those described by Canaan (p. 121 f.) or Alfred Bel.² Canaan, however, gives what is substantially the same spell as this as part of a longer incantation which includes prayers and adjurations. This makes it possible that the Damascus version has not been completely recorded. As, however, Seligmann introduces the narrative of Solomon and the evil eye into another incantation (i. 323 f.), it is clear that what has been omitted is not a fixed context, and it may be that the operator is free to add to it what prayers and adjurations he pleases.

There is a close resemblance in substance and phraseology between the narrative of Solomon's meeting with the evil eye and a similar narrative contained in the well-known charm of 'the seven knots.' In the lithographed copies of this charm, as now sold in Egypt, the evil spirit whom Solomon meets is named Umm es-ṣubyān (see p. 99), but is addressed by him as the Evil Eye.

Spell for one whom the (evil) eye strikes.

The striking, smiting, evil eye : our lord Sulaimān saw her, circling in the desert : showing her fangs, with hair dishevelled : neighing as horses neigh, in the darkness of the night. He said to her : who art thou O accursēd one : my hair stood up because of thee, and my limbs shook because of thee. She said to him : O Sulaimān, son of Dā'ūd :³ water freezes and God is wor-

¹ For the characteristics and influence of the evil eye, see F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, Berlin, 1910; Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 317 ff.; Canaan, *op. cit.* p. 28 ff.

² *Journal asiatique*, 1903, tome i. pp. 359-365.

³ Solomon, son of David.

shipped :¹ I will make an agreement between me and thee. I destroy palaces : I snatch the child from its cradle, and the oxen from their yoke : and the youth from his marriage, and the mother from her bed, and the bride from her bridal : I destroy palaces, and build up graves : I separate them all, in less than an hour. He said to her : in vain, in vain,² O (evil) eye, I will set thee in a vessel of lead, and throw thee into the deepest sea,³ because thou art not serviceable to men O (evil) eye.

There seem to be two errors in the text, as it stands. The sentences ‘water freezes and God is worshipped, I will make an agreement between me and thee’ represent the submission of the evil spirit and should, perhaps, stand at the end. Seligmann’s text, one of the two texts given by Canaan and Doutté’s version of the charm of the seven knots, all confirm this supposition. The words ‘I destroy palaces and build up graves’ should probably be removed to the point where the words ‘I destroy palaces’ occur. The repetition is apparently meaningless, and the phrase in the first instance is obviously incomplete. After the removal of these words, the connection of ‘I separate them all in less than an hour’ with what precedes is clear.

For the power of Solomon over evil spirits and his imprisonment of them in vessels of lead, and for the personification of the evil eye as a female demon, reference may be made to the writers whose works are cited on p. 104. It may be pointed out that Zechariah v. 8 contains an allusion to the belief that evil spirits can be shut up in jars with lids over them. This carries the belief back to the sixth century B.C.

The colons and commas of the above translation mark, to some extent, the ends of the short rhythmical phrases or lines of the original. These are frequently distinguished by the presence of rhyme. There is a close verbal agreement and, at the same time, a considerable amount of divergence between the spell as translated and the texts that have been previously published.

¹ i.e. God’s will must be submitted to.

² *lā bās, lā bās.*

³ Cf. the story of the fisherman and the *jinni* in the Arabian nights.

5. MAGIC SQUARES IN ARABIC CHARMS.¹

Most of the squares known as magic squares are numerical in character. They may contain figures or letters, indifferently, since each letter of the Arabic alphabet has a fixed numerical value. Sometimes the squares are filled partly with figures and partly with letters (see below). Ibn Ḥāj² (p. 161) supplies an example of a square in which each compartment contains a letter and its corresponding figure.

The smallest numerical squares are those of nine compartments, exhibiting eight rows of three figures each. Next come squares of 16 compartments, having ten rows of four figures each. After these follow squares of 25, 36 and 49 compartments, and so forth.

It is characteristic of all such squares that the sum of the figures of every horizontal and perpendicular row in a particular square should be the same. When the sum of the figures in the diagonal rows agrees with the sums in the other rows, the square may be called a perfect magic square. If not, it may be called an imperfect magic square. The squares described in what follows are perfect squares, except when the contrary is specially stated.

The numbers contained in a magic square are chosen according to a variety of principles. In one class of squares they form a consecutive numerical series and provide as many different figures as there are compartments in the square. Such a series may commence with any number, such as 1, 10 and 98, which are the first figures of the series used in the following examples :

4	9	2	13	18	11	17	10	15	101	106	99
3	5	7	12	14	16	12	14	16	100	102	104
8	1	6	17	10	15	13	18	11	105	98	103

¹ On this subject, in addition to Doutté and Canaan, see especially W. Ahrens, 'Studien über die Magische Quadrate der Araber,' in *Der Islam*, vii. (1916), pp. 186-250. This writer treats the mathematical and historical aspects of the subject and limits (unduly) the expression magic square, so that it applies only to the first class of squares here described. Examples of magic squares are also given by J. Tuchmann, in *Mélusine*, vol. ix. pp. 40-45.

² Shumūs el-anwār wa-kunūz el-asrār (referred to in the Cairo edition of A.H. 1332).

The relative positions of the consecutive figures in a square of nine compartments are usually those of the first, second and fourth of the examples given. It will be observed that the fifth number from the beginning of the series stands in the centre, and that, if it is an odd number, the even numbers occupy the corners of the square, whereas if it is an even number, the odd numbers occupy the corners.¹

The following are cases of perfect squares of 16 compartments in which the series used is 1-16 :²

11	14	1	8	4	14	15	1
5	4	15	10	9	7	6	12
16	9	6	3	5	11	10	8
2	7	12	13	16	2	3	13

In a 16-compartment square the same figures may be arranged in a great variety of different ways so as to produce the required totals. It is, therefore, usual to limit the choice by imposing the observance of other conditions. In every 16-compartment square there are nine subsidiary squares, each composed of four adjacent figures. Generally the sums of at least five of these four-figure groups are made to follow the law of the square. Under this condition, the opposite two-figure diagonals, when added together, must also give the characteristic total of the square. Thus, in the first of the examples just given, the sums of the corner figures ($11 + 8 + 13 + 2$), of the nine subsidiary squares (e.g. $11 + 14 + 4 + 5$) and of the opposite two-figure diagonals (e.g. $5 + 14 + 12 + 3$), each give a total of 34. The same total is obtained by the addition of any corner figure to the three-figure diagonal farthest from it (e.g. $11 + 7 + 6 + 10$). Even this highly complex result may be obtained from other arrangements of the same figures.³ But the same results are not always aimed at. In the second example,

¹ The number in the centre must always be one-third of the constant total of the square. The writer is indebted for this and other indications of the complexity of magic squares in general to Professor R. A. S. Macalister of Dublin.

² The first is from Ed-dairabi (Cairo edition, A.H. 1287, p. 151); the second is from Jaffur Shurreef's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, plate 8 (edition of 1832 or of 1863).

³ Professor R. A. S. Macalister has pointed out to the writer that the sum of the corner numbers of any perfect magic square of sixteen compartments and the sum of the numbers in its central (subsidiary) square *must always* be the constant total of the square; also, that the addition of the two middle figures

given above, the corner figures, five of the subsidiary squares (symmetrically placed) and the opposite two-figure diagonals, obey the law of the square. Besides, the addition of any two numbers that are equidistant from the centre of the square and lie on a straight line passing through the centre gives a total of 17 (*e.g.* 11 + 6).

In a second class of squares the numbers used are not a consecutive series and do not necessarily supply a figure for each compartment of the square, but yet are chosen according to an arithmetical principle. For example, squares of 16 compartments are frequently made from the even numbers 2, 4, 6, 8 repeated four times. This group of four numbers has a special name, *bedūḥ*, which is constructed from the four letters (b, d, w, ḥ) that represent them alphabetically. In at least one arrangement of these figures¹ seven subsidiary squares follow the law of the square. Similarly, the odd numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, five times repeated, are used to form a magic square of 25 compartments. As given by Doutté,² this square also is complex in character. It is a pattern square (see below, p. 111), and the addition of any two diagonals that run across the pattern and, in combination, contain five figures, produces the characteristic total of the square (25).

In a third class of squares the numbers used are determined in each case by the numerical values of the letters in some one of the ninety-nine names of God.³ The size of the square depends upon the number of letters in the divine name. Since most of the divine names contain four letters, squares of 16 compartments are the most common in this class. Several distinct methods of construction are in use. For example, each letter of the divine name, or each of the corresponding figures, may be repeated in of any exterior row to the corresponding figures of the opposite exterior row gives the same characteristic total (*e.g.* 14 + 1 + 7 + 12 in the square referred to above). It would appear, therefore, that some of the complexities are due to the primary conditions of the square, whilst others are imposed in order to increase its complexity.

¹ El-būnī (Shams el-ma‘ārif, Bombay, A.H. 1295), iv. 4 and 123 (=Doutté, p. 193).

² Page 295, with letters as the symbols.

³ Lists of these names are given by Doutté (p. 200 ff.) and T. P. Hughes (*Dictionary of Islam*, *sub voce* God).

successive lines as often as is required to form a square. Thus the names *latīf* and *māni* supply the numbers 30, 9, 10, 80 and 40, 1, 50, 70 and the following squares :¹

80	10	9	30	70	50	1	40
9	30	80	10	1	40	70	50
30	9	10	80	40	1	50	70
10	80	30	9	50	70	40	1

In both these squares the relative positions of the figures are the same, and seven of the subsidiary squares follow the law of the square (*e.g.* 10 + 9 + 80 + 30). Three of the seven stand in the upper half of the square and three in the lower half, and the seventh is the central square. In both cases the sum of the corner figures and the sum of each pair of two-figure diagonals is the characteristic total of the square. In squares of this type it is common to employ letters rather than figures (cp. Doutté, p. 232), or letters in the top row of compartments and figures in those that follow (so in *El-būnī*).

A peculiar way of forming 16-compartment squares based upon the letters of a divine name begins by expanding each letter in the divine name into a series of four consecutive numbers. The 16 numbers so obtained are then used to construct a square in the usual way. The numerical values of the letters of the name *qayyūm* (100, 10, 6, 40) are thus expanded into the four series 100, 101, 102, 103 ; 9, 10, 11, 12 ; 4, 5, 6, 7 ; 37, 38, 39, 40. Similarly the name *muḥīt* (numerically = 40, 8, 10, 9) gives the series 40, 41, 42, 43 ; 7, 8, 9, 10 ; 8, 9, 10, 11 ; 6, 7, 8, 9. From the numbers so obtained the two following squares may be constructed :²

40	6	10	100	9	10	8	40
9	101	39	7	7	41	8	11
102	12	4	38	42	10	8	7
5	37	103	11	9	6	43	9

¹ From *Ed-dairabī*, p. 76, and *Ibn Hāj*, p. 70.

² The first is from *Ibn Hāj*, p. 14 (where there are two misprints), the second from *Ibn Hāj*, p. 79 (with one misprint). Doutté, p. 194, supplies another example of this type, based on the name *muṣawwir*. The numbers 32 and 33, as there printed, are errors for 42 and 43. *Muḥīt* does not appear in the current lists of the divine names, as given, for example, by Doutté, pp. 200-203. But for another example of its use, see p. 102.

In both examples the relative positions of the figures are the same, and the degree of arithmetical complexity is exactly that of the preceding type. In squares of this type, also, the divine name may be written in letters in the top row.

Another variety of the series square just described is frequent in El-būnī. In it the definite article stands along with the divine name in the first row of compartments. It usually fills one compartment, and when the divine name is one of four letters, two of these are also associated in one compartment. The following examples are taken from El-būnī iv. 64 (with three corrections), 65 and 79 :

ا ل ح ف م ا ل ط ي ف م ا ل ع د ل											
69	32	29	5	38	32	79	11	29	2	99	9
33	72	2	28	33	41	8	78	3	32	6	98
3	27	34	71	9	77	34	40	7	97	4	31

The relative positions of the figures and the arithmetical complexity of the squares are exactly those of the preceding variety.

El-būnī also supplies examples of a third variety of these series squares. In them the divine names occupy the diagonals that slope downwards from right to left, and not the first horizontal row of compartments. Further, in the expansion of the letters of the divine names into numerical series, the last letter of the name takes the second place, immediately after the definite article. In the three following examples from El-būnī⁵ the squares are based upon the names *El-halīm* (i.e. 31, 8, 30, 50), *El-'alī* (i.e. 31, 70, 30, 10) and *El-hai* (i.e. 1, 30, 8, 10) :

9	51	28	31	71	11	28	31	31	11	6	1
27	32	8	52	27	32	70	12	5	2	30	12
33	30	49	7	33	30	9	69	3	8	9	29
50	6	34	29	10	68	34	29	10	28	4	7

The relative positions of the figures in these three squares are the same, and the degree of their arithmetical complexity is exactly that of the other series squares.

² i.e. 31, 70, 4, 30.

³ i.e. 31, 39, 10, 80.

⁴ i.e. 1, 30, 8, 100.

⁵ El-būnī, iv. 66, 68, and 87, with a correction of one figure in the first square and of two figures in the second. In the squares, as printed above, the numerical values of the letters of the divine names in the diagonals have been substituted for the letters themselves.

Imperfect squares with a diagonal pattern are also formed from the letters of the divine names. In this case the numbers derived from the divine names are repeated in as many successive lines as the size of the square requires, and the diagonal pattern usually runs downwards from right to left. Many of Ibn Hāj's squares are of this character, and the following examples are taken from him.¹ They are based upon the names *qahhār* (i.e. 100, 5, 1, 200), *laṭīf* (i.e. 30, 9, 10, 80), *māni'* (i.e. 40, 1, 50, 70) and *jāmi'* (i.e. 3, 1, 40, 70).

200	1	5	100	80	10	9	30	70	50	1	40	70	40	1	3
1	5	100	200	10	9	30	80	50	1	40	70	3	70	40	1
5	100	200	1	9	30	80	10	1	40	70	50	1	3	70	40
100	200	1	5	30	80	10	9	40	70	50	1	40	1	3	70

The number 5, in the first of these examples, is represented in the text of Ibn Hāj by the letter *h*, although the other numbers of the square are all represented by figures. This preference for the letter *h* may be due to its character as a magic sign (see p. 112).²

The mysterious groups of letters found in the headings of certain Suras of the Qoran (cf. p. 97), and the seven letters that do not occur in the opening Sura (f, j, sh, th, z, kh, z), are also employed, like the divine names, in the construction of magic squares. Examples of this fourth class of magic square will be

¹ Pp. 12 (= Doutté, p. 282), 91, 94 (*māni'* in letters), 118 (*māni'* in figures), and 90 (*jāmi'*). Only one of these squares (that on p. 118) is correctly printed in the edition of the text here referred to. The errors in the printed copies of these magic squares are very perplexing. In an amulet given by Ibn Hāj on p. 91 there are four magic squares of the type explained above, not one of which is correctly printed. They are based on the divine names *laṭīf*, *'alīm*, *māni'* and *hafīz*. Canaan reproduces the amulet (on p. 114), but fails to recognize the derivation of the third and fourth squares, because of the misprints. Further examples of this type of square in Ibn Hāj will be found on p. 96 (derived from the name *mughnī*), p. 122 (from *'aṭūf*) and p. 124 (apparently from *mu'ṣī*). *'Aṭūf* and *mu'ṣī* are not in the current lists of the divine names. The latter is not obviously appropriate as a divine name and may not have been correctly deciphered.

² Another illustration of the precedence accorded to the letter *h* may be found on the talisman described by D. B. Macdonald in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xxvi. (1912).

found in the article of D. B. Macdonald already referred to, and in Doutté.¹

In a fifth group of magic squares the numbers used seem to be obtained by variation from those of simpler squares of common occurrence. For example, the numbers 2, 9, 4, 6, 1, 8, represented by letters and repeated six times, are used to construct a square of 36 compartments (Doutté, p. 234). These numbers are a combination of the top and bottom rows of the ordinary nine-compartment square given on p. 106. Another square (reproduced here from El-būnī iv. 6) is a variation of the squares that use the consecutive series 1-16. It uses the numbers 1-12 and 14-17, and its constant total is, accordingly, 35 instead of 34. Seven of the subsidiary squares follow the law of the square. Ed-dairabī (p. 112) gives an imperfect square that seems to be another variation of the usual squares that are constructed from the numbers 1-16. Like them its horizontal and perpendicular rows yield a total of 34. But the numbers 5-8 are each used twice in the square, and the numbers 3-4 and 9-10 are not used at all. Only six subsidiary squares follow the law of the square. On the other hand, the main diagonals (*e.g.* 14+2+7+15) and the corner numbers (14+1+15+8) and the two pairs of two-figure diagonals all yield another characteristic total (viz. 38).

8	11	15	1	14	11	8	1
14	2	7	12	7	2	13	12
3	17	9	6	5	16	7	6
10	5	4	16	8	5	6	15

6. THE SEVEN SEALS.

Along with potent names and magic squares, and the groups of mystery letters derived from the Qoran, the 'seven seals' are the greatest of the magic signs used in Arabic charms. They are frequently associated together and then stand regularly in the following order :²



¹ P. 162, from El-būnī.

² This is the order of Ibn Hāj, Ed-dairabī and El-būnī (Bombay edition, A.H. 1245, i. 82-86), and of two talismans reproduced by Canaan (pp. 52 and

A thorough investigation into the origin and history of these signs has still to be made. Meantime the following notes may suggest lines of enquiry.

The names of the signs, as given by those Arabic writers who have been consulted,¹ are as follows : (1) the seal of the five corners, (2) the three staves (or, possibly, lances or javelins : ‘*aṣa*’) with an arrow (El-*būnī* ‘ thumb ’) on the top, (3) *mīm ḥamīs abtar*, (4) the ladder, (5) the four, like fingers (*anāmil*) without a wrist, (6) the divided *hā* (*hā shaqīq*), i.e. the *hā* which has two sections, (7) the curved *waw* (*waw muqawwas*).

Some of these names may preserve a tradition regarding the origin of the signs, while others may only be based upon the latest conventionalised forms. Ibn Ḥāj calls the second and fifth of the signs ‘ the three alifs ’ and ‘ the four alifs ’ respectively, and so loses touch with descriptions that are much more significant. In view of these cases the *mīm* and the *hā* and the *wāw* may not have been, originally, letters of the alphabet. It is unlikely, at all events, that the *h* and *w* are to be read together as *hū*, which might then be interpreted to mean God. The double explanation that *h* is an abbreviation of the divine name, Allah, and that the ‘ waw of unity ’ is the first letter of *wāḥid*, is also more likely to be due to the final resemblance of the signs to *h* and *w* than a confirmation of their original character as letters of the alphabet. Even the suggestion that they are the last syllable of the divine name *yāhū*, and have been taken from a

117). In a peculiar table given by Ibn Ḥāj (p. 60) the positions of the 2nd-6th signs are symmetrically transposed. The table is reproduced by Doutté (p. 154) and (substantially) by Canaan (p. 95). The order of the table, however, conflicts with that of the text of Ibn Ḥāj on the same page (p. 60). The forms printed above have been copied from the Cairo text of Ibn Ḥāj (A.H. 1332), p. 88, with the exception of that in the centre of the line. In one of Canaan’s talismans (which hangs upside down in the illustration on p. 52) a star of six points, formed by three cross lines, is used for the pentagram. In the talisman on p. 117 two intersecting triangles  are used. El-*būnī*’s text shows two triangles on i. 82, but always elsewhere a pentagram. The fourth sign in the MSS. slopes slightly from left to right, and the cross lines project very slightly on the left side only (see form as given above).

¹ Ibn Ḥāj (p. 60), Ed-dairabī (p. 80; for another text of the poem there quoted, see El-*būnī*, i. 83, and for a text and translation, see Reinaud, *op. cit.* ii. 246), El-*būnī* (i. 86). Only some of the variations that occur in these authorities have been noted above.

Hebrew source (Seligmann), is difficult to accept. The most obscure name is the third. *Tamīs* (or *muntamis*) means obliterated or transformed, and *abtar* may mean 'without a tail' or 'sharp.' The rendering of *abtar* by 'without a tail' in this connection is inappropriate to the form of the *mīm*. Canaan (p. 112) seems to understand the word in the sense of sharp sword.

It may be presumed that all these signs are ancient mystic symbols, used in common by the Arabs and other peoples, and, possibly borrowed by the Arabs, in part, from the peoples whom they conquered in the seventh century. This is clearly true of the star-shaped pentagon or pentagram, an ancient and widespread symbol.¹ The five lines that form it are written without lifting the pen. If the fourth sign was originally a ladder, it may be derived from the ladder which gave the spirits of the dead access to heaven, according to old Egyptian belief.² It may also be compared with the ladder which appears on several terra-cotta plaques, covered with magic signs and found in Italy.³ The fingers of the hand play an important part in benedictions and as a defence against the evil eye. It is, therefore, probable that they are represented by the fifth sign. The second sign finds a parallel in the three uprights of the plaques just mentioned. As, however, the plaques show no cross-piece, the alternative of another hand gesture may be suggested (cf. El-*būnī*). The sixth sign, especially as written in MS. A, and to a lesser extent in B, is very like a phallic symbol. It is also not unlike a closed hand with the thumb protruding. The seventh sign may have been, originally, the representation of an eye, which has also magic properties. In A the left-hand side is not turned up, as it usually is, and the form suggests that a crescent moon might be represented.

The word seal (*khātim*) in the expression 'the seven seals' means magic sign. It is also used to denote any design composed of squares and signs and names and formulae, that serves the purpose of a magic sign.

¹ Cf. J. Tuchmann in *Mélusine*, vol. ix. pp. 127-8.

² E. A. W. Budge. *Egyptian Magic* (London, 1899), pp. 51-55 ('the amulet of the ladder').

³ See F. T. Elworthy, *op. cit.* pp. 370-387.

THE PRE-ABRAHAMIC STORIES OF GENESIS AS A PART OF THE WISDOM LITERATURE.

To what do the pre-Abrahamic narratives in Genesis owe their attraction ? The charm of the adventure-story of Joseph is intelligible ; a young man in foreign lands making his way in the world has been a safe hero of romance in all ages. The simple, yet so subtle, character analysis of the family history from Abraham to Jacob has intrigued and held hundreds of thousands of preachers and their congregations. But these old tales from before the Flood, rooted in universal folk-lore and heathen mythologies, told and re-told through Semitic generations, jumbles of potted anachronisms, how have they so held the imagination and stimulated the thought of all the centuries of the Christian world ? To more shallow thinking it is almost of humour that the folk-tales of Akkad and Babylon should have become the foundation of so many Jewish and Christian hypotheses on the nature of man and sin. Yet the humour vanishes when we come to see how closely adapted to such ends the stories evidently have been found. Even in their crudest and most mythologic forms they had in their motivating just such fundamentals of human experience.

In the last years they have been used and discussed from quite other than theological standpoints. The documentary hypothesis has analyzed them into component parts which, in their broad outlines, will certainly hold. This has involved elaborate schemes of compilers and redactors, and the discussion now is more as to the methods of working employed by these than as to the limits of the documents which they used. That their methods were purely mechanical and verbal is becoming more and more improbable. Further, the tracing of the ultimate origins of their materials into Semitic mythology has been pushed

far behind these documents ; and, still farther behind, we are now moving into multitudinous connections with the great ocean of folk-lore which washes the ultimate shores of all human knowledge, thought, experience and creative will. For that ocean no charts yet hold and no pole-star has yet been discovered. All hypotheses are possible and none is more than possible.

But these ultimate origins are very far removed from my present subject. It is with a redactor of these stories that I would deal, and I wish to vindicate for him far more philosophic insight and freedom of treatment than are commonly admitted in one of his supposedly mechanical tribe. Of what time or place, school or sect he was, I do not know ; but he was the predecessor and in the company of Ecclesiastes and of "Enoch," of "II Esdras" and of Paul. Upon Ecclesiastes he made a deep impression, although his spirit was very different ; to the minds of the authors of Enoch, immeasurably his inferiors, he suggested childish speculations, just as, still later in medieval Christendom, he was responsible for the *deliramenta* of the early part of *Le Grand Saint Graal* ; * he was the spiritual father of "II Esdras" and of Paul, although more a philosopher and less a theologian than either. His freedom of philosophic attitude suggests a time before fixed schools had developed, before philosophy and theology had separated, when *hokhmah*, or "thinking," was still facing an unscholasticized universe.

It is, then, for the so-called Wisdom Literature that I claim these chapters, and such a claim calls for a very clear statement of the essential nature of that literature, a statement which will involve, too, a brief psychological classification of the Old Testament literature of the Hebrews in general. Leaving out of account all mere fact-writings—chronicles, enumerations, laws —on which the mind of the recounter has played no creative part, the literature of the Hebrews can be traced back to three psychological sources quite different in essence, although always, it need hardly be said, mixed in manifestation. (i) There was a source in their emotional experiences ; they felt and they expressed their feelings. This is the basis of all Hebrew poetry in the true sense—as, indeed, of all Semitic poetry—and in its essence conscious, directive, thought plays no part. Hence the

* Ed. Hucher, ii. pp. 452 ff.

formlessness of all the higher Hebrew poetry. (ii) There was a source in the illumination of the prophet, the Hebrew mystic. He found in his mind certain ideas and pictures which he had not reached by conscious volition or thinking, but which, he recognized, had come directly from God. We may see in this the workings of the "subconscious mind," or may hold to old-fashioned theories of inspiration. The result is much the same, so far as the prophet was concerned; neither his emotional nor his intellectual being was consciously involved—though, of course, both were affected by and worked upon these ideas and pictures. (iii) There was a source in conscious thinking. The mind, exercising the divine gift of thought, reached certain conclusions and took up certain positions. Wherever there is conscious observation, meditation, deduction, induction or creation, we have this source at work. It may be in such a nationalistic adventure-story, combined with character analysis, as the Story of Joseph, or in a study of a more purely family character, in its continuity and differences, such as the psychological sketches which begin with Abraham, or in a frankly adapted foreign story, such as Esther or Tobit. Or it may be in various forms of purer thinking, like these others in being conscious but with the creative element more in the background. Here we come closer to the Wisdom Literature as commonly stated and defined, but in it, as in all the forms above, the source is the same, conscious thought. When so consciously thinking, the devout Hebrew (as in Proverbs, chapters viii. and ix.) regarded himself as using a divine instrument akin to, or the same as, that which God himself used, and therefore as guided by God as really as was the prophet, if not in the same way. Others (as in Job, chap. xxviii.) rejected such a possibility of community of thinking between God and man, and left to man only the fear of the Lord as his guide. But such a position cut at the root of all truth in human thought, and the Hebrew thinker who held to the validity of his own results, and who was also devout, must have felt that he was thinking God's thoughts after him.

To such a thinker I ascribe these chapters of Genesis in their present form; he was their last redactor, and he recast and retold them in order to convey certain definite philosophical views. The stories which he used were known to all, but his

way of turning them may well have brought with it a zest of novelty. Yet he was not completely successful in his philosophical recasting ; some discordant elements from the old polytheistic and mythological attitudes remained, as, for example, the vindictive fear on the part of Elohim before further inroads from mankind (Gen. iii. 22). This last dominated the mind of Ecclesiastes who, in reaction to it, has lost all devoutness of attitude, although his Master in Genesis shows no sign of moral repulsion from such a God. It would be interesting to consider how Ecclesiastes would have taken Paul's illustration of the potter and the vessels ; the Poet of Job would certainly have torn it to tatters in moral indignation.

But these stories were only the clothing of his ideas. He was looking at the world, at the fundamental institutes of life, asking himself questions about it and them, and seeking answers to these questions by applying his God-given reason to the material of life. He had no more doubt than Socrates as to the validity of his results, and when he had reached these, he expressed them, as the Platonic Socrates sometimes did, in forms of the old stories which all knew. But he was farther from abstract expression than the Platonic Socrates and nearer the mind which expresses itself automatically in stories, and therefore his stories are living and real to a degree far beyond the rather trivially humorous Platonic myths. It is not easy to say just how far these stories were authority for him, besides being a convenient way of suggesting his ideas to a concrete-minded people. To the people the stories were certainly authority—that is, undoubted history—and that was the important matter for him. But his use of them was not in the least historical but as analogues, a use which would not make them untrue for him. For we must remember that to the Hebrews truth of idea completely over-rode what we would call truth of fact ; they were by nature pragmatists and would have accepted what our modern philosophical jargon calls “value-judgments.” Of that our Book of Jonah is the great demonstration.

I shall now go through these stories, one by one, stating the points which, I think, each was intended to convey. He begins with two Creation narratives which are so essentially different that he cannot possibly have regarded them, or retold them, as

histories. Taken separately, the people might regard them as narratives of fact, but the mere ranging of them, one after the other, is a warning that they are not to be so taken. Both, of course, I regard as having their ultimate origin in Semitic mythology. Through what transformations, oral and literary, they passed before they came to our philosophic redactor, and how much precisely he, in his turn, recast them, I do not believe that we can ever know. If we can follow the analogy of recastings found elsewhere in Semitic literature, he would be thorough at the beginning and would gradually lose energy and interest as he neared the end. And that, I think, is what we find ; the earlier stories are much more completely philosophized than the later.

The first Creation narrative, then, is intended to answer the fundamental question of man's relation to the world. Did God create the world for the sake of man, or do man and the world together exist for some other reason ? On this the Hebrews were of divided opinion. Psalm civ. and the speeches of the **LORD** in Job, for example, show that some held that man was only a part of the world, and that the world, including man, existed for the pleasure of God. This was probably the more generally held view. But this Creation narrative teaches explicitly that man is the crown and object of creation ; that he is in the image of God and thus separate from all the other animals ; that all the rest of the world exists for his sustenance. But why does man exist ? On that point this Hebrew philosopher is silent. The other view—that man is only a part of the world with no pre-eminence—delights in elaborate pictures of God's joy in the world, of his watching the wild animals in the round of their lives and caring for the grass that springs where no man ever comes. This may become trivial as where Leviathan is depicted as the special plaything of God, but it all goes to meet the broad question which must have been in the Hebrew mind although unstated in so many words,—Why did God create the world ? Along the path of the other view, again, that of our philosopher, the religious experience of the Psalmists made a great advance, and they approach the later mystical position which dared to find in God a need only to be supplied by the creation of beings to be cared for and loved, and who, in turn, might love him.

But of that, a more emotional development, not even the beginning is here suggested, and we have only the philosophical position, that the world exists for man who is the measure of all things. It is a result of calm reason, neither moved by emotion nor illumined by prophetic insight.

The relationship of man to the world having thus been fixed, the second Creation narrative, the Garden Story, goes on to deal with the most fundamental elements in human life. And first comes the relation of man to the other animals. To emphasize the difference while admitting the similarity a very naïve story is told of an attempt to find a help for mankind. The attempt fails; no other animal exactly corresponds to him; and one has to be specially created from him. Then man says, "This one, this time, is . . ." From the words which follow I take it that this is regarded as the explanation of the sexual instinct in man—like to his like; and yet not simply of the mere physical instinct—that, as in an unclean Babylonian myth, might have been satisfied otherwise—but of the part played by that instinct in the development of the idea of the primal unit in specifically human life, the family. We may contrast in simplicity and effectiveness the grotesque Greek myth which Plato makes Socrates use.

Our chapters here are very badly divided, for the next stage should open with ii. 25 and so with the contrast, brought out by a very Hebraic word-play,* between the naked simplicity of the pair and the subtle insight of the Serpent into the situation. Their unawakened self-consciousness could hardly be better suggested, but the possibilities that lie in the Serpent, reaching back into primitive myth and forward into very many centuries of half-sardonic, half-jocular philosophy and very serious theology, are hardly developed. For our philosopher the Serpent is a serpent and only useful for his immediate purpose; although he is willing enough to explain, as he goes, whence come its unique physical characteristics and the universal enmity between it and the rest of creation. His primary purpose is to explain the nature and origin of the fundamental difference between man and the other animals--the existence in man of an independent moral sense.

* עֲרָם, naked, subtle. Translate: "But the Serpent . . ."

In the consequences of this so-called Fall there is a curious mixture, hardly to be disentangled, of the primitive myth and of refined psychological observation. What the LORD said about dying was plainly not true and what the Serpent said was true. The LORD displays a combination of vindictiveness against man and fear of man which are evidently mythological. But the Hebrews had observed the difference between the birth-pangs of the lower animals and of mankind (Job xxxix. 3), and there is distinct humour in the picture of the farmer labouring with the recalcitrant soil which produces everything but what he wants. There is an acrid Semitic humour, too, in the latter part of Gen. iii. 16 * when it is interpreted through the parallel phrase in iv. 7 and contrasted with Song of Songs, vii. 11. Yet that may be the humour of the folk-tale, always full of biting observation on the point in question. But there is no mistaking the contrast meant between man's ultimate return to the dust of the ground and his new power of self-determination for good or for evil. On the one side, he is only a superior animal, but on the other, in the possession of a moral sense, he is of the Elohim. This can have sprung only from a keen feeling of the paradox in man's twy-nature.

With the next scene, again, the chapters are badly divided. Verse 24 of chapter iii. should be the first verse of chapter iv., where the new human family is founded with all its possibilities of good and evil. Here, perhaps, the philosopher-redactor touches the peak of his appreciation of the facts of life. Man is driven out from the unreal fairy Garden into life and love and living. "And He drove out Man . . . but Man knew Eve, his wife. . . ." The Hebrew allows no other translation,† and it is plain enough what is meant. The human family appears and real life has begun.

But what is the great fact in life? For the Hebrew it was the relationship between God and man, and for many of the Hebrews it was, more narrowly, the presence in man of sin. What, then, is the basis of the relation between God and man; that is, how can man best live so as to please God: and what in

וְאֶל-אִישׁ תָשׂוּקַת וְהֹא יְמַלְבֵךְ:

* The pluperfect rendering of the verb, the only other syntactically possible, cannot be fitted in any way to the context.

its essence is sin ? Current among the Hebrews were two views as to the essentially God-pleasing life. The one was that which connected the due worship of God with the cultivated soil, and the other was that which is commonly called now the nomadic ideal, that the wandering shepherd or herdsman led a life more pleasing to God. Both of these are swept away by the story of Cain and Abel. Neither Cain nor Abel in virtue of their occupation was God-pleasing. Abel was a shepherd, but that was not why he was accepted, for it is the shepherd's life into which Cain is driven away and in which he will be hidden from the face of the LORD. Cain was a farmer, but that was not why he was rejected, for his punishment was to be sent away from the cultivated soil. The true position as to the pleasing of God is given in verse 6 ; it depends on the attitude of each man towards sin which is always lying in wait and seeking to control him. It seeks to possess each man—just like woman in iii. 16—but it is each man's business to dominate it. All this, on its different sides, could be illustrated in detail from Muslim religious literature. There the ideal, especially of the solitary shepherd-ascetic, tends to reappear, and the whole picture of rule over personified Sin is the same as that used concerning the *Nafs* by Muslim theologians and moralists.*

But if the philosopher-redactor is sweeping and clear in his statement on sin he was evidently in grave doubt as to what is too often called civilization. He came to, or there came to him, a fragment about a certain Lamech, a descendant of Cain. The fragment gave a bit of song of Lamech's—really a good specimen of the primitive sword-song—and it showed the godless and blasphemous character of the House of Cain. To this they had come ! But the reason why Lamech could have his sword-song was because a son of his had been the first to forge weapons of brass and iron. Further, the origin of the arts and crafts generally was ascribed to this impious race. What did that mean for our philosophic looker-on upon life, working out his explanations of why life was thus and not otherwise ? If we had only to posit a naïve re-teller of primitive myth, feeling at most a shudder of horror at this godlessness, the matter might be simpler. But

* I venture to refer further to my *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, pp. 234 ff.

I have posited at least a re-telling by a philosopher who had approved if he had not re-cast. Apparently we have here the attitude of mind which reached explicit expression in Enoch, vii. ff., that all elaboration of life beyond the strictest simplicity is of evil. This is not so strange to us now as it would have been a generation or even twenty years ago. We are getting ready to admit that material and even aesthetic civilization may not be unmixed blessings, and that the attitude of Enoch, and apparently of our philosopher, may not be simple narrowness of mind and prejudice, but may be capable of reasoned defence. It may be said safely, I think, that the deepest religious and philosophic thinking of the whole East would so defend it, and that the serious Hebrew mind would have found this origin of the material forms of cultivated life suggestive and essentially true.

With the beginning of chapter vi. we come back to the old puzzle of the twy-nature of man. Verse 3 is the modern application and philosophic kernel of the old story of the Sons of Elohim and the daughters of men. Ecclesiastes (vi. 10) knew it well,* and had brooded over it. He expressed the eternal conflict from the other side and in his own, partly bitter, partly manly, way. Here, as throughout, our philosopher has no bitterness. He simply accepts the facts of life, whatever he may have thought of these stories as to how the facts came to be so. Did he believe in the giant races of which we read in Numbers xiii., and in their origin as given here ? We cannot tell ; but he was quite sure as to the paradox of man's constitution out of flesh and spirit, whatever meaning he may have ascribed to "spirit." The same holds for the word נַפְשׁוֹ which must have meant something for him (cf. viii. 21), though hardly so much as it came to mean for later Judaism. We are evidently here in the beginnings of the long question of the meaning of spirit as opposed to matter ; the tracing of that question would be virtually a history of primitive theology and metaphysics.†

* It is evident that he read נַפְשׁוֹ in ver. 3.

† For some curious phases of that history, reaching down to our own times, I may refer to my article entitled 'From the Arabian Nights to Spirit' in the *Moslem World* for October, 1919. In this connection Prof. F. C. Burkitt reminds me, by letter, that Hatch in his *Essays in Biblical Greek*, holds that πνεῦμα in John, 'however subtle, is still material.'

With the treatment of the legend of the Flood we come back from these puzzles to the constitution of the material world and its relation to God. For the Flood affected not man only but all life, and the covenant with which it closes is between God and all living things on the earth. So the fundamental law which it is used to bring out is one of the widest of all and can be stated in singularly modern form. Behind the naïve mythological picture of God as having a Bow which he has set in the clouds of the sky and which will remind him by its appearance of this promise—it is characteristic of the philosopher's method that he retains all this—we have really the law of the order of Nature, that man can depend on a normal cycle of events in the natural world, and that the world will not, hereafter, be subject to cataclysmic change. Nature shall do nothing *per saltum*. But what kind of Hebrew is this who has reached the conception of Nature and of an order of Nature although he has no words for them ! We seem present at the discussions of geologists of a scant century ago—the Catastrophists and the Uniformitarians.

In the latter part of chapter ix. and in chapter x. he is face to face with an even more modern problem. So far mankind had been regarded as one family, divided, it might be, ethically and by feuds, but with an essential racial unity. But when our philosopher viewed his world, the divisions of various kinds seemed in point of fact more essential than the unity. He does not appear to have been possessed, as are we, by the idea that a unity of some kind must be restored, but he recognized, quite as fully as do we, the divisions in his world—geographical, linguistic, racial, national; so explicitly in x. 5. Here his realism comes out very clearly. He is looking at an actual world before his eyes, or as represented to him by more or less trustworthy report, and he gives the facts as he sees them or has heard and knows them. But, in accordance with his method, he connects them with an ancient and universally known scrap of mythological scandal, ending with some verses which read like one of the oracles of Balaam and which deal with racial *facta* and *fata*. It is hard, or impossible, to bring these verses into any accord with the statements in his Table, but they are sufficiently akin to form a link with which to connect the point he wishes to make, the picture, that is, of the actual world. The

story of the Tower of Babel, on the other hand, with which chapter xi. begins, seems to be an untouched piece of folk-lore.

The narrative then passes to the immediate ancestors of Abraham, and the method of treatment completely changes. In this the redactor shows literary as well as philosophical insight. He has laid as a foundation the institutes of human life, and his subject is now the development of a single family. His interest, therefore, is in their characters, and so he passes to a series of studies in family psychology. But that is another story.

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APPENDIX

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